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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

Persecutions suffered by the Catholics
OF IRELAND

UNDER THE RULE OF

CROMWELL AND THE PURITANS.

BY THE REV. PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN,
VICE-RECTOR OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME.

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TO

THE VERY REV. MONSIG. YORE,

VICAR-GENERAL OF THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN,
PRECENTOR OF THE METROPOLITAN CHAPTER,
PARISH PRIEST OF ST. PAUL'S, ETC., ETC.

VERY REV. MONSIGNORE,

The interest you take in Irish ecclesiastical history, your anxiety to preserve the sacred traditions of the country, and your zeal in promoting everything useful to religion, induce me to request you to accept the dedication of the following pages, containing a brief account of the trials and afflictions of the Catholics of Ireland in the unhappy days of Cromwell and the Puritans.

The history of that period, in which so many holy bishops, priests, and laymen—under the influence of the same spirit as the early martyrs—displayed the most heroic courage and constancy in suffering or dying for their religion, cannot fail to be a source of edification to every true be-

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liever, and to show the value of that faith which enabled our forefathers to resist all the powers of darkness and to overcome the world.

Besides, a sketch of the history of the penal code, of the confiscation of Irish property in favour of Scotch and English adventurers, and of the proscription of everything Irish and Catholic, enables us to explain the prostrate state of our Church for more than a century, and to understand by what means the Catholics of Ireland were reduced to that poverty with which they were so often taunted, as if it owed its origin to their race or religion, not to the injustice or violence of others, by whom they were stripped of everything they possessed, and condemned to live in poverty and slavery in their native land.

When examining this sad picture of woe, and contrasting it with the religious freedom we now enjoy, we cannot but be grateful to the Almighty Giver of all good gifts, who has broken the yoke of bondage, and put an end to an unhappy period of open persecution and legalized oppression. True, indeed, too many of our poor countrymen have benefited very little by the concessions made to the liberal spirit of the times, and are still suf-

DEDICATION.

fering hardships and oppression ; true, also, that the effects of cruel and penal laws, though repealed to a great extent, are still severely felt ; yet great progress has been made, much religious freedom has been acquired, a more equitable system of legislation has been introduced, and we cannot but be filled with gratitude to God when we compare our present condition with that of our fathers in the days of Cromwellian or Puritan desolation and tyranny, in which their lot was cast.

The sketch which I now present to you has been written with the view of supplying materials to some future historian of the sufferings of our forefathers ; and, as it records many glorious examples of their faith and charity, calculated to instruct and edify, I trust you will not consider it unworthy of acceptance, however brief and defective it may be.

When reading the following pages, it must be very cheering to you to reflect that, though in the commencement of your long and honoured career the penal code therein described was still pressing heavily on our Church, you have lived to witness the return of happier days, and to

enjoy the blessings of peace denied to past generations.

The spectacle of our people everywhere repairing the ruins of past calamities, and restoring its decorum to the house of God, must add to your gratification, whilst you cannot but be still more consoled by the recollection that you yourself have had so large a share in all that has been done for the interests of the country or religion, and that your name is inseparably connected with the noble institutions of Catholic piety and charity, which, having sprung up under your care, now adorn the metropolis of Ireland.

Wishing you many years of health and happiness, and renewed strength to pursue your career of usefulness, and to direct the zealous and edifying clergy of Dublin in their meritorious works of religion, I remain, with profoundest respect,

Your obedient faithful servant,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

OUR DIVINE REDEEMER repeatedly forewarned his disciples that they would have to suffer trials and persecutions in this world, and to drink the bitter cup of affliction to the dregs. "You shall lament and weep," said he to them, "but the world shall rejoice; and you shall be made sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be changed into joy."—John, xvi. 20. "I send you," said he, "as sheep in the midst of wolves. Beware of men. For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues."—Mat. x. 16. "And they will put you out of their synagogues: yea, the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth a service to God."—John, xvi. 2.

What our Lord foretold was accomplished to the letter. The disciples and apostles whom he sent to overthrow idolatry and superstition, and to purify the earth from the corruption with which it was infected, instead of being welcomed as benefactors, were everywhere opposed by the perversity and malice of man; and every human

effort was made to impede the success of the heavenly mission in which they were engaged. Edicts were published prohibiting their teaching; their doctrines and practices were proscribed; and, when they persevered in their work of charity and religion, they were cast into prison, or sent into exile, or condemned to suffer tortures and death. All the apostles merited the crown of martyrdom; and all sealed their testimony to the faith by shedding their blood in its defence, with the exception of St. John, who, having merited the honours of a martyr when thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil in Rome, was providentially preserved, in order to prevent the spread of errors which sprung up against the divinity of our Lord.

The immediate successors of the apostles, and the inheritors of their authority, together with innumerable multitudes of other Christians, had to undergo the same persecutions and afflictions as their masters in the faith, and to be made like unto the Author of our holy religion, who, for our salvation, became the reproach and outcast of the people, and satisfied for our sins by his agony on the cross.

The blood of the first Christians was shed in torrents in every country where the doctrines of their Divine Master was preached, and his Church established. They were reviled, calumniated, and excluded from the pale of society; they were proclaimed the enemies of the human

race, and charged with crimes which they abhorred ; they were sent into exile, condemned to work in the mines, subjected to unheard-of torments, and condemned to cruel deaths. But, like sheep among wolves, bearing everything for Christ's sake with patience and resignation, they edified the world by their virtues and good works ; and their blood became the seed of new and fervent Christian congregations. The more they were cut down, the more did Christians increase ; and, in the course of three centuries, by their prayers, their patience, and virtues, they conquered the whole Roman empire ; the cross was raised triumphant on the Capitol and Pantheon, and the proudest monuments of Greece and Rome were consecrated to the worship of the true God.

What happened in the first centuries was repeated in the following ages : the Church was always a prey to persecution ; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of her enemies, she increased and prospered ; and the fertile vine, planted on Mount Calvary, and watered by the blood of our Redeemer, spread its branches to the remotest regions of the earth, affording protection and refreshment to those who had been languishing in darkness and error.

As nothing could be more edifying than the constancy of Christians in professing their faith, and in protesting against the perverse doctrines and practices of idolatry—so it cannot be a mat-

ter of surprise that great care was taken to preserve the names of the martyrs, and to record the sufferings and the circumstances of their death: the acts of those heroes of the cross were drawn up by faithful hands; their answers to the tyrants declaring how they adhered to the doctrines of Christ, and detested the worship of idols and false Gods, were accurately reported; and their constancy and courage in encountering torments and death were minutely described. Even at the present day, through the simple narratives that have been preserved, every one is familiar with the sufferings of a Laurence, a Vincent, a Sebastian, and an Ignatius, and with the superhuman courage of the Agneses, the Agathas, the Catherines, and other virgins, in whom we admire the triumph of that faith which raised them above the weakness of their age and sex.

To cherish the remembrance of those who shed their blood for the truth, and to obtain their prayers and protection at the throne of mercy, festivals were established on the day of their victory, pilgrimages were instituted to the spot where they suffered, their sacred remains were preserved with the greatest respect and veneration; and some of the noblest temples of the universe were erected to their memory.

This same anxiety to do honour to the heroes who laid down their lives in her defence, and to propose their glorious deeds to her children for their encouragement and instruction, has been

manifested in every age by the Church. It is also in this spirit that our present venerable Pontiff—who has himself suffered so much from the enemies of religion, and whose courage and constancy in defending the rights of the Holy See, have merited for him the admiration of mankind—has determined to canonize several martyrs of Japan, proposing their heroic virtues to the imitation of the faithful in these times of irreligion and indifference, and securing new patrons for the Church in the period of trouble and confusion in which we live. The writers of a wicked and unbelieving press may scoff and sneer at the pious anxiety of the Church to extol the faith and courage of her children; they may call the glorious martyrs of Japan traitors and rebels to the government under which they lived, but all faithful Christians will receive with gratitude the decisions of the Pontiff, and avail themselves of the patronage and intercession of the Christian heroes whom he is about to place on our altars.

Whilst it was ever the anxious desire of all Christians—and especially of the supreme pastors of the fold of Christ—to preserve the acts and the memories of the martyrs, it would be strange if the Catholic Church of Ireland were careless about her children who suffered for the faith, or allowed their memory to be forgotten. Far from her the charge of such neglect; she encouraged her children to fight a good fight, and

to finish their course with honour ; she preserved their memories with veneration, and repeated with gratitude and thankfulness the names of many who shed their blood in order to preserve the faith of St. Patrick pure and uncontaminated, and to transmit to posterity the blessings of true religion which they now enjoy.

Unfortunately, however, we have no regular acts of our martyrs, nor special histories of the unexampled sufferings which they had to undergo during the three centuries of persecution and penal laws through which our country has passed. Our forefathers acted like true soldiers of Christ, and preserved the faith, covering their country and religion with glory, and securing for themselves an imperishable crown ; but the circumstances of the country were so deplorable, and war was carried on so actively against religion, that no written records could be kept, and the glorious achievements of so many Christian heroes were preserved only in the memory of the faithful. As an instance of the difficulty of preserving written documents, it may be mentioned that the martyred archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Plunket, in a letter to Rome, states that on a certain emergency, when an outburst of persecution was feared in Armagh, he had to burn all his foreign letters, even the brief of his consecration. "This happened," he adds, "last June twelvemonths (1670), on the vigil of St. John, when it was circulated by the Presbyterians that

the Catholics had conspired to murder, on that night, all the Protestants.”*

Under such circumstances it were vain to seek for a complete and consecutive history of the persecutions of our forefathers; and hence, although we have, on every side, proofs the most authentic of the fearful persecutions of the Irish Church, yet it is only in private letters and documents, referring but casually to such matters, that the sufferings of individuals are described. When all the materials of this kind shall have been examined and published, it is to be hoped that a history of the martyrs of the Irish Church may be written.

With a view of contributing to this desirable result, the following Historical Sketch of the Sufferings of the Catholics during the Puritan sway in Ireland has been compiled. In it are collected many extracts from unpublished contemporary writings, and from printed works rarely to be met with. The greater part of it was written as an introduction to the Memoirs of Dr. Plunket, but it now appears in an enlarged form, and contains many new documents. It is hoped that it will aid the future historian in describing the virtues and constancy of Irish Catholics at a time when, because they were unanimous in defending their country, their king,

* See Memoirs of Dr. Plunket by Dr. Moran, p. 190.

and their religion,* they were sacrificed in thousands by sanguinary hordes of fanatical Puritans, and other furious enemies of the Catholic religion, pretending to be lovers of liberty, but, in reality, enemies of all rights, human and divine.

Though the practice of the Catholic Church and the experience of past ages show that great edification is derived from the history of those who suffered for the truth—and the faithful are encouraged to constancy and patience in the time of trial, by remembering the sacrifices made by others in its defence—yet, there are some who seem to think otherwise, and who will not fail to condemn the historical sketch now presented to the public. Why, they say, do you occupy yourself with penal laws, and the confiscation of property—why record the massacre of so many Catholics? Such unpleasant recollections ought not to be preserved. It is the tendency of the present age to repair the wrongs of past times, and to heal the wounds then inflicted—why put yourself in opposition to so praiseworthy a spirit? why not let past grievances be forgotten?

In reply, perhaps, it would not be out of place to examine whether the present age is so liberal as it pretends; or whether the Catholic religion, and the Catholic people in general—and the poor

* The motto of the Council of Kilkenny was—"Pro Deo, Rege et Patria Hibernia unanims." V. Hibernia Dom., p. 876.

especially—have been treated in Ireland with such generosity as to make them forget all past grievances. It might also be asked whether the spirit of former times is not still active, and still tending to obtain, by indirect and occult means, the same ends which were so long sought for by open persecution. But passing over such questions, we may be allowed to observe that, motives of prudence or feelings of delicacy, did not prevent the early Christian writers from recording innumerable deeds of pagan cruelty, and describing the noble constancy and courage of their persecuted brethren. Every Christian felt that the propagation or preservation of his religion in the midst of trials and sufferings, was a proof of the truth of Christ's promise to be with his Church in all ages, and the fear of displeasing pagans, or of exciting the feelings of the sufferers against their oppressors, was not considered a sufficient ground for passing over in silence great historical facts, both useful and edifying.

Why should not we act in the same way? for, do not the sufferings of past times supply us with new illustrations of the power of Christian faith, and with motives of thankfulness and gratitude to God for having preserved our religion? The struggle in which our predecessors in the faith were engaged was a very unequal one: they were so weak that, humanly speaking, they could not have resisted the powers that were brought to bear on them for their destruction; yet, through

the mercy of God, their poverty was more powerful than the wealth of others, and in their weakness they preserved the most precious of all treasures, their faith, and transmitted it to their posterity, in whom it is now producing an abundance of fruit in their virtues and good works, and in the institutions with which they are covering the land. And here may we not say, with the Apostle—"The foolish things of the world hath God chosen that he may confound the wise, and the weak things of the world hath God chosen that he may confound the strong. . . . That no flesh should glory in his sight."—(1 Cor. i.)

Nor is it to be supposed that the memory of past grievances always excites feelings of hatred and rancour. Where the sufferings of true Christians are related, a contrary effect is produced. Their patience and resignation to the holy will of God, the prayers they poured out, like our divine Redeemer on the cross, for their persecutors, serve to make us patient and obedient, and to act in a spirit of charity and forbearance, even towards those who afflict and persecute us.

Besides, the condition of Ireland is quite unintelligible, unless we keep before us the history of the past. Irish Catholics are frequently taunted with the want of a Catholic literature, and with the rags and poverty of their country. We are even told that our ignorance and our poverty are proofs of the demoralizing effects of our holy reli-

gion. Look to the condition of Protestants and Presbyterians; they are rich and flourishing; they have numerous schools and colleges richly endowed; travelling through the country you cannot but observe the superior wealth and comfort of the Protestant or Presbyterian occupier of the soil—all this difference is a proof of the advantages of Protestantism.

Statements of this kind are made every day: they are repeated in almost all the little anti-Catholic tracts so widely circulated at present. To answer such charges it is necessary to go back to the penal laws, and to past persecutions, which fully explain the cause of the anomalous position of Ireland. If Catholics were behind others in education and intellectual acquirements—if they had not so many colleges or literary institutions—the reason was, that Catholic education was prohibited in the country, and all Catholic schools and places of instruction were confiscated and handed over to Protestants. A Catholic was not allowed to teach or to keep school at home, and laws were enacted to prevent him from sending his children to be educated abroad. As all this was done by the Protestant parliaments of England and Ireland, is it meet that the evils thus produced should be charged to Catholics, the sufferers in the case? But though education was so strictly prohibited, the Catholics still preserved a thirst for knowledge, they sought for it in foreign lands; and, since the relaxation of the penal laws,

they have covered the country with schools, colleges, and other educational establishments. Thus, a reference to past times shows who were the real friends, and who the enemies of progress and knowledge.

In regard to the poverty of the Catholic portion of the Irish people it is very easy to explain its origin. The Catholics were persecuted for their religion, and rather than consent to renounce their God and their faith, they submitted to the confiscation of their property, to exile, and death. A great part of Ireland was confiscated several times; the property and the estates of Catholics were handed over to Protestants; the rich lands, the fertile plains, and all places of commerce, were reserved for those who had been found ready to apostatize at the bidding of the ruling powers. Adventurers from England, oftentimes of the lowest class and most degraded character, and covenanters and followers of John Knox, from Scotland, were enriched with the property of the old inhabitants of the country who had remained faithful to the religion of their fathers. Special privileges were granted to the towns and seaports occupied by Protestants and Presbyterians; their trade and manufactories, especially in Ulster, were encouraged, and everything was done to promote their interests, whilst the worst arts were employed to ruin the industry or to occasion the beggary or total extermination of the original inhabitants. Indeed, it was con-

sidered a great favour to allow Catholics to live in the bogs and mountains; and even, when these were reclaimed, they were driven from them, and ordered to seek for refuge in more desolate places. Under such circumstances, we cannot be surprised that the Catholics of Ireland should have been reduced to poverty, but it must be a matter of amazement that they were at all able to preserve their existence in the land.

However, the energy of the Irish race was not to be broken down by confiscation and penal laws; notwithstanding the spoliation and sufferings to which they had been subjected, they displayed a persevering industry; and many of them, overcoming all obstacles, have had their energy rewarded by the acquirement of wealth and station. Yet, as it has been said, the general condition of the country, and the poverty of so many of its Catholic inhabitants, as well as the wealth and prosperity of many Protestants, cannot be explained without continual reference to the history of the past, and showing how the former were robbed and persecuted in order to enrich the latter.

In conclusion, it appears to us evident, that it is most useful and edifying, and conformable to the practice of the Catholic Church, to preserve and publish the records of those who suffered for their faith. Their patience and humility edify us, and teach us to be submissive and obedient in the time of trial and affliction; their courage and

constancy show us how firmly we ought to be attached to our faith ; their prayers for their enemies afford us a lesson of forbearance and charity, and the success with which they fought the good fight, and merited an imperishable crown, must excite our gratitude to heaven and at the same time convince us that our faith is the victory which overcometh the world.

HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE PERSECUTIONS SUFFERED BY THE CATHOLICS
UNDER THE RULE OF
CROMWELL AND THE PURITANS.

*General Proscription of the Irish Catholics by the
Puritans.*

1. LORD CLARENDON EXPLAINS THE DESIGNS OF THE PURITANS TO EXTERMINATE THE CATHOLICS.—
2. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT AND ORDERS OF CHIEF JUSTICES.—
3. FIERCE SPIRIT OF PURITAN WRITERS.—
4. TESTIMONY OF VARIOUS HISTORIANS.—
5. CONDUCT OF TICHBURNE, SIR WILLIAM COLE, SIR CHARLES COOTE.—
6. DR. JOHN LYNCH DESCRIBES THE SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS.—
7. DIVISION OF THIS SKETCH.

1. THE persecution carried on by the Puritan Parliament and Cromwell against the Catholics of Ireland has scarcely a parallel in the history of the Church. Without a special providence of God watching over His children, whom He was chastising in His mercy, the Catholic faith could not have been preserved in so frightful and so

trying an ordeal. It is the mercy of the Lord that we have not been consumed. No sooner had the Puritan faction become predominant in England, having dethroned their sovereign, and imbrued their hands in his blood, than they resolved on the utter extermination of the Irish people, who had been true to Cæsar and to God, declaring that thus alone could Catholicity be rooted out from our island. In fact, this extermination of the Irish Catholics became a leading feature in their political programme. "The Parliament party," writes Lord Clarendon, "had grounded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Roman Catholic religion, and even with any humanity to the Irish nation—and more especially to those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had upon the matter sworn to extirpate."—*History*, i. 215.*

2. As early as the 8th of December, 1641, an

* The author of *Cambrensis Eversus* corroborates this statement, see vol. 3, pp. 85-90. He adds—"Three thousand Irish Puritans signed a document in which they earnestly insisted either that the Catholic religion should be abolished in Ireland, or that the Irish race should be extirpated." And, page 99, he writes that the Irish Puritans "rioted in the promiscuous slaughter of women, old men, and children; and the English auxiliaries openly avowed that they would strain every nerve to extirpate, without mercy, the Irish race."

act was passed in Parliament to the effect that the Catholic religion should never be tolerated in Ireland;* and in order to carry this act into execution, the Lords Justices issued the following order to the commander of the Irish forces:—

“It is resolved, that it is fit his Lordship do endeavour, with his Majesty's forces, to slay and destroy all the said rebels, and their adherents and relievers, by all the ways and means he may; and burn, destroy, spoil, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved and harboured, and all the hay and corn there, and kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.”

All the subsequent acts of Parliament and orders of the Chief Justices are dictated in the same sanguinary strain. As an instance we may cite the enactment by the Lords and Commons of England, on 24th October, 1644: “*that no quarter shall be given to any Irishman, or to any papist born in Ireland.*”

3. The writers of the party were animated by the same exterminating spirit; and, though the soul shudders at the recital, we shall present an extract from one of the political pamphlets of the period, that the reader may fully appreciate the virulence of Puritan hatred against the Catholics of Ireland:—

“I beg upon my hands and knees that the expedition against them may be undertaken whilst the hearts and

* *Rushworth's Collections*, p. 455.

hands of our soldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to say, briefly: 'happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us; and cursed is he that shall do the work of the Lord negligently. Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood; yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword stark drunk with Irish blood—that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment to nations. Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand be spared that pities or spares them; and let him be accursed that curseth them not bitterly.'*

4. It would be tedious to enter into full details of the cruel extermination by which the army in Ireland sought to carry into effect the desires of their English masters. The whole history of their sanguinary career may be well summed up in the words of the Protestant historian, Borlase, "the orders of Parliament were excellently well executed."—*Hist. of Reb.*, page 62. Leland and Warner refer to the letters of the Lords Justices themselves for the fact that the soldiers "slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing even the women." And Dr. Nalson, another Protestant historian, appeals to the testimony of officers who served in the Parliamentary army, "that no manner of compassion or discrimination was shown either to age or sex." Lord Ossory, too, himself a bitter enemy of the Catholics, in a letter to Ormond, informs him how the Puritan Lord Pre-

* See further extracts in O'Connell's *Memoir*, p. 346, as also in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., p. 150.

sident of Munster "caused innocent and guilty to be alike executed," and commemorates some instances of barbaric cruelty for which we would seek in vain a parallel in the fiercest persecutions of paganism.

5. One of their officers, named Tichburne, who commanded in Dundalk in 1642, was able to boast that in his district "there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk, nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carrickmacross."* A Protestant dignitary, Dean Bernard, describing the same scene, wrote: "By the death of so many men about us, having their houses and all their provisions either burnt or drawn hither, the dogs only surviving are found very usually feeding upon their masters, which taste of man's flesh made it very dangerous for the passengers in the roads, who have been often set upon by these mastiffs, till we were careful to kill them also."—Page 109.

Another officer, Sir William Cole, who commanded in a few counties of the North, slew, in a short period, as Borlase informs us, together with 2,400 swordsmen, "seven thousand of the

* Ap. Curry, page 169, and *Vindiciæ*, page 417. *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., page 97, states that the Puritans of the North shot down the Catholics as wild beasts, and made it their special business "to imbrue their swords in the heart's blood of all the male children."

vulgar sort." (Hist., page 112.) And the same historian adds (p. 113) that "after this manner did the English fight in the other quarters."

When in May, 1642, the Earl of Clanrickard induced the citizens of Galway to submit once more, and took them under the king's protection, he received a reprimand from the Lords Justices, declaring that he should have persecuted them "with fire and sword." Moreover, to prevent like clemency for the future, "they issued a general order to the commanders of all garrisons, not to presume to hold any correspondence or treaty with any of the Irish papists dwelling or residing in any place near or about their garrisons, or to give protection, immunity, or dispensation from spoil, burning, or other prosecution of war to any of them, but to persecute all such rebels with fire and sword, according to former commands and proclamations in that behalf."

Sir Charles Coote was one of the leading champions of Puritanism in Ireland, and of him in particular, and his associate officers, M'Geoghegan writes—"There were no exceptions in the barbarous orders which they gave to their soldiery, when letting them loose to make their bloody hunts amongst the Irish Catholics." Yet far was the Parliament from reproving the conduct of this sanguinary monster; and when he was slain in one of his excursions near Trim, in April, 1642, we are informed by Borlase that

"floods of English tears accompanied him to the grave." (Hist., page 104.)

When such were the sentiments of the government and chief officers, we can no longer be surprised at individual deeds of barbarous cruelty perpetrated by the soldiery on the defenceless inhabitants; it is thus we find them deliberately knocking out the children's brains against the walls at Clonakilty, county Cork; we find them turning the Irish into their houses, to which they then set fire, as in Bantry, to enjoy the screams of agony of their victims; we find them, at Bandon bridge and Newry, tying the Catholics back to back, and casting them from the battlements of the bridge, to perish in the river beneath. And in the Commons' Journals, of 1644 (vol. 3, p. 517), it is recorded that Captain Swanley having captured a vessel at sea, and thrown seventy individuals overboard, *because they were Irish*, was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, "and had thanks there given him for his good service, and a chain of gold of £200 value."*

6. Dr. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, and for some time Vicar-Apostolic of Killala, was eye-witness of many of these outrages, and in his invaluable work entitled "*Cambrensis Eversus*"

* Lord Clarendon (ii. 478) writes, that this was not an exceptional case; but, on the contrary, with officers of the navy, "it was a rule, whenever they made Irish prisoners, to bind them back to back, and cast them overboard."

(vol. iii., page 181), he thus depicts the excess of Cromwellian barbarity :—

“ All the cruelty inflicted on the city of Rome by Nero and Attila, by the Greeks on Troy, by the Moors on Spain, or by Vespasian on Jerusalem—all has been inflicted on Ireland by the Puritans. Nothing but that pathological lamentation of Jeremias can appropriately describe her state—‘ With desolation is the whole land laid desolate ; our adversaries are our lords, our enemies are enriched ; the enemy hath put out his hand to all our desirable things ; . . . our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the air ; they pursue on the mountains, and lay in wait for us in the wildernesses ; we have found no rest ; our cities are captured, our gates broken down, our priests sigh, our virgins are in affliction.’ From Ireland all her beauty is departed ; they that were fed delicately have died in the streets ; they that were brought up in scarlet have embraced the dung ; when her people fell there was no helper. All that has ever been devised by the ingenuity of most cruel tyrants, either in unparalleled ignominy and degradation, or in savage and excruciating corporal torture, or in all that could strike terror into the firmest soul—all has been poured out on Ireland by the Puritans. They plundered our cities, destroyed our churches, laid waste our lands, expelled citizens from their walls, nobles from their palaces, and all the natives from their homes ; nay, they forbade countless numbers of men even to enjoy the sight of their native country, and to breathe the air which they had inhaled at the moment of their birth. . . . Some of our priests they put in chains and dungeons—that was the most lenient punishment ; others they tortured with stakes and strapadoes ; some were shot to death, others hanged or strangled. From the priests they turned their fury against all sacred things and places consecrated to the worship of God, which

were first sacrilegiously pillaged, then all the paintings and images were torn, the statues were cloven in pieces with the axe, and either thrown into the flames or consigned to stables and brothels. Those temples where the priest performed his sacred functions, where the sacred canticles of the Church ravished the ears of the faithful, and sacred orators encouraged the people to piety by their ceaseless exhortations, where the people often poured forth their prayers to God, and devoutly attended all the functions and mysteries of religion; these now resound with the yells of drunkards, the neighing of horses, the barking of dogs, the clamors of quarrelsome soldiers, and the howling of women. Within them we now see taverns instead of altars, blasphemy for prayers, the cursings of heretics instead of pious and orthodox sermons, obscenity and impurities instead of chaste conferences."

Division of the present Historical Sketch.

7. To proceed with order in detailing the progress of this dire persecution of the Catholics by the Puritans we shall—

First, see the violence with which it raged in the chief districts of Ireland, till the year 1652;

In the second part, we shall examine the penal laws subsequently enacted by the Cromwellians for the avowed purpose of rooting out Catholicity from our "Island of Saints;"

And in the third part, we shall detail some particular instances of the persecution, and trace its course even after the restoration of Charles II.

The matters referred to must be treated very briefly: but the extracts from contemporaneous writers, here produced, will show how intense

were the sufferings of our forefathers, and how generously they fought the good fight, and preserved their faith, the most noble of all treasures, though they were stripped of all the earthly property they possessed. The reader of this sketch will also observe how it confirms the statement of Edmund Burke, regarding the penal laws :—

“The code,” said he, “against the Roman Catholics was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of men.”

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

Persecution of the Catholics in the principal Districts of Ireland.

§ 1.—SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS IN DUBLIN.

- 1.—PROCLAMATION OF 1641 PROHIBITING THE CATHOLIC RELIGION IN DUBLIN; LETTER OF A CAPUCHIN.—
2. SUFFERINGS OF JESUIT FATHERS CAGHWELL AND FITZSIMONS.—
3. EXTRACTS FROM DR. TALBOT'S WORK, "THE POLITICAL CATECHISM."—
4. FROM DR. LYNCH.—
5. HEROISM OF THE CLERGY OF DUBLIN.—
6. ALL CATHOLICS BANISHED FROM DUBLIN IN 1647.—
7. THE PLAGUE IN 1650.—
8. FRESH PERSECUTIONS AND CONSTANCY OF THE CATHOLICS IN DUBLIN.—
9. ORDERS REPEATEDLY ISSUED BANISHING CATHOLICS FROM THE CITY; NUMBER OF CATHOLICS ACCORDING TO DR. DEMPSEY.

1. DUBLIN being the seat of Government, was the first city that experienced the sad effects of the Puritan persecution. Before the close of 1641 a proclamation was published, interdicting there the exercise of the Catholic religion; a rigorous search was made to discover the priests and religious, and no fewer than forty of them

being arrested, they were, for some time, treated with great rigour in prison, and then transported to the continent. An extract from a letter addressed to his superior in Rome, on the 12th July, 1642, by a Capuchin father who was sent into exile, will convey some idea of the storm thus let loose against the Catholics :—

“ Whithersoever the enemy penetrates, everything is destroyed by fire and sword ; none are spared, not even the infant at its mother’s breast, for their desire is to wholly extirpate the Irish race. In Dublin our order, as also the other religious bodies, had a residence, and a beautifully ornamented chapel, in which we publicly, and in our habit, performed the sacred ceremonies ; but no sooner had the soldiers arrived from England, than they furiously rushed everywhere, profaned our chapels, overturned our altars, broke to pieces the sacred images, trampling them under foot and destroying them by fire ; our residences were plundered, the priests were everywhere sought for, and many, amongst whom myself and companion, were captured and cast into prison. We were twenty in number, and the Lords Justices at first resolved on our execution, but through the influence of some members of the council, we were transported to France. The masters of the two vessels into which we were cast, received private instructions to throw us into the sea, but they refused to commit this horrid crime. Oh, would to God that we had been worthy to be led to the scaffold, or thus drowned for the faith.”*

2. A narrative of the Jesuit missionaries,

* Lett. of Fr. Nicholas, superior of the Capuchins of Dublin : Poitiers, 12 July, 1642.

written about the same time, thus briefly sketches the sufferings endured by the members of that order: "We were persecuted, and dispersed, and despoiled of all our goods; some, too, were cast into prison, and others were sent into exile."* Amongst the fathers of the society was F. Henry Caghwell, renowned for his learning and zeal: "being confined to his bed by sickness, he was apprehended by the soldiers and hurried to the public square; as he was unable to walk, or even to stand, he was placed on a chair, more for mockery than for ease, and subjected to the derision and cruel insults of the soldiery; he was then beaten with cudgels and thrown into the ship with the others for France."† Another holy priest, whose name is well known in connection with our suffering Church, Father Henry Fitzsymons, though in his eightieth year, "was obliged with the other Catholics, to fly from Dublin and seek safety in the mountainous districts. The winter had set in with unusual severity, yet he had to undertake the difficult journey on foot, and to wander stealthily through the woods and mountains. He passed the whole winter in the midst of a bog, being thus secured

* *Missio Soc. Jes. usque ad an. 1655*, in archiv. Colleg. Hib. Romæ. These *Relations* being written at the very time of the events which they commemorate, are invaluable in illustrating the history of this period.

† *Ead. relatio ib.*

from the Puritan cavalry. His cabin being only half covered, he was exposed to the wind and rain; his bed was of straw, always moist from the rain above, or from the stagnant waters of the bog beneath. Yet the good priest was ever joyous, and only intent on consoling those who were sharers of his sufferings. The children he instructed in the catechism, the sacrament of penance he administered to all that approached. He could not, however, long endure the privations of that painful state, and was therefore obliged to embark for the continent, where he soon expired, full of merits, as he was of years.”*

3. In a rare work of the illustrious Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Peter Talbot, entitled, “The Politician’s Catechism,” and published in 1658, we find many valuable details regarding the barbarous cruelty of the Puritans in Dublin and its immediate vicinity. In chap. 10th, page 156, he thus writes:—

“Witness their marches about Dublin, where the inhabitants were all of English extraction, and spoke no other language but the ancient Saxon. There are very few of that once populous country called Fingal left alive—all perished by fire and sword, being a most innocent people, and having nothing Irishlike in them but the Catholic religion. In the march of the Protestant army to the county of Wicklow, man, woman, and

* *Relatio rerum quarumdam notabilium quæ contigerunt in Hibernia ab anno 1641, usque ad an. 1650 in isd. archiv.*

child was killed; a gentlewoman, big with child, was hanged at the arch of a bridge, and the poor Catholic that guided the army, for reward of his service at parting, being commanded to blow into a pistol, was shot therewith into the mouth, though there had been no murder committed on the Protestants in that county. In another march into the same shire, one Master *Comain*, an aged gentleman, who never bore arms, was roasted alive by one Captain Gines (Guinness); yea, they murdered all that came in their way from within two miles of Dublin.

“ In a march into the county of Kildare, in or about February, 1642, some of the officers going into Mrs. Eustace, of Cradogston’s house, a sister to Sir William Talbot, of eighty years of age, who being unable to shun, entertained them with meat and drink; after dinner, herself and another old gentlewoman, and a girl of eight years of age, were murdered by the said Protestant officers.

“ Walter Evers, Esq., aged and sickly, and for a long time before the war bed-ridden, being carried by his servants in a litter to shun the fury of the army, was taken and hanged. In Westmeath, Master Ganley, a gentleman of good estate, having a protection, and showing it, hoping thereby to save his goods lost his life, having his protection laid on his breast and was shot through it, to try whether it was proof. Master Thomas Talbot, a gentleman of ninety years of age, and a great servitor in Queen Elizabeth’s wars in Ireland, having a protection, also was murdered.

“ Seven or eight hundred women and children, ploughmen and labourers, were burned and murdered in a day in the King’s land (a tract within seven miles of Dublin), where neither murder nor pillage had been committed on the Protestants. Whensoever the army went abroad, the poor country people did betake themselves to the furze, where the Protestant officers did besiege them, and set the furze on fire: such as shunned and escaped

that element, were killed by the besieging army, and this they termed a *hunting*, sporting themselves with the blood of innocents. These barbarous and savage cruelties were ordinary, not only near Dublin, but in all other parts of the kingdom, wheresoever the Protestants were, and may be read in divers remonstrances and relations published in the beginning of the late troubles."

4. The statements of this illustrious archbishop are more than confirmed by the Archdeacon of Tuam, Dr. John Lynch, who attests that the soldiers of Dublin garrison "fell on all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the city, who either from age, or sex, or disease, were detained at home and not able to fly. The poor victims were shot down like birds by those savage sportsmen. The watchword amongst all the reinforcements sent over from England was *Extirpate the Irish, root and branch* ; whence it is palpable that the orders from head-quarters must have been the extirpation of the people of Ireland, as if they would say—Let us cut off the Irish nation from the land of the living, and let its name be remembered no more." (*Camb. Evers.* vol. 3, page 97.)

Not content with this excess of violence, the Puritans were accustomed to display, by mockery and ridicule, their hatred of the sacred ceremonies of our holy Church. More than once, however, divine justice delayed not to avenge those insults. One case is mentioned by the author from whom we have just quoted :—

"A common soldier, an Englishman, contrived to procure somewhere the vestments which the priest wears

at the altar, and having put them on, he appeared at noon-day within the grating before the house of Adam Becans, in St. Nicholas's-street, Dublin. He had a book lying open before him, and a vessel full of water by his side; and while he pretended to be reading the blessing of the water in the book, he dipped the aspersorium in the water as if he were going to sprinkle the passers by, mocking all the while the sacred ceremonies used by the priests. In this sacrilegious personation of the priest he continued until the sound of the drum summoned him to drill in Ostmantown orchard. He had not been many minutes there when two bullets from the gun of one of his comrades, which accidentally exploded, pierced his groin. He was carried back in this state to the very house above-mentioned, whilst his comrades gave the priest's vestments to Mrs. Bridget Rochfort, requesting her to restore them to the place from which they had been stolen, protesting that the sacrilegious travesty of the priestly function was, in their opinion, the cause of the catastrophe, and denying any participation in the crime." (Ibid, p. 124.)*

5. Though it was death for Catholics to exercise their religion within the walls of Dublin, yet

* The history of our Irish Church abounds with instances of the divine chastisements which awaited those who persecuted the ministers of God, and ridiculed the holy practices of Catholic faith. The fate of Brunchard, President of Munster, is especially remarkable. His rage against the Catholics was like that of Antiochus against the Jews, and his death was also similar, for he expired in 1607, devoured piecemeal by vermin. See *Club. Erers.*, ibid., page 101; and *Relatio Ec. Hib.*, by David Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, written in 1608, published in Appendix to "Lives of the Abps. of Dublin," vol. 1st. (Duffy, 1865.)

many continued to reside there privately; nor was a devoted clergy wanting to risk every peril in order to administer to them the holy sacraments. The manuscript narrative already referred to details many instances of the arts to which they were obliged to have recourse to thus break to their flock the bread of life. One lived as a hermit, perpetually shut up in a secret place, only a few Catholics being acquainted with his retreat. Another, often changing his disguise, went publicly through the streets; at one time he wore a long beard and a soldier's dress; at other times he travelled as a mechanic or merchant; sometimes, too, he carried a bread-basket on his shoulders, thus becoming all to all that he might gain all to Christ. A third disguised himself as a miller, and occasionally as a gardener; and though living in the country, often passed through the midst of the enemy's guards carrying herbs, or fruits, or some such articles, as if he were journeying to market, whilst he was in reality hastening to the bedside of the infirm.

“For the clergy, writes Mr. Prendergast, there was no mercy; when any forces surrendered upon terms, priests were always excepted; priests were thenceforth out of protection to be treated as enemies that had not surrendered. Twenty pounds was offered for their discovery, and to harbour them was death. . . . To be prosecuted, however, was nothing but what they were used to from the days of Queen Elizabeth. There were statutes in force making the exercise of their religion death. Yet, as Spencer remarked, they faced all penalties in the performance of their duties. They spared not to come out of

Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling to Ireland, where they knew the peril of death awaited them. These laws occasionally slept, but were revived by proclamation when the fears or anger of England were aroused; and then the priests had to fly to the woods or mountains, or to disguise themselves as gentlemen, soldiers,* carters, or labourers. They had no fear that any of the Irish would betray them. But pregnant women and others, hastening on foot out of the Protestant parts towards those places where priests were known to be harboured, was frequently the cause of their being apprehended. . . . In all parts of the nation there was found a succession of these intrepid soldiers of religion to perform their sworn duties, meeting the relics of their flocks in old raths, under trees, and in ruined chapels, or secretly administering to individuals in the very houses of their oppressors, and in the ranks of their armies."†

Their stratagems, however, did not always enable them to elude the vigilance of the soldiery. Thus, one aged man—a venerable Jesuit—was seized at the very altar when offering the holy sacrifice; the soldiers at once tore off the sacred vestments and cast him into a horrid dungeon. Another priest, though disguised, was assailed by them in the public streets, despoiled of all he had with him, and thrown into the common

* In a curious pamphlet, entitled *A Catholic Conference*, &c., by *Barnabie Rych*, London, 1612, it is said that a Protestant student of Trinity College recognized in Waterford a priest, his acquaintance, disguised in a ruffling suit of apparel, with gilt rapier and a dagger hanging by his side.

† *Settlement*, &c., page 154-162.

sewer; and it was only by the interposition of some passers-by, who declared he could not be a priest, that he was rescued from their brutality.

6. When, in 1647, the city was treacherously surrendered by Ormond to the Puritans, the severest measures were at once re-enacted against the Catholics. By public edict it was commanded that all *papists* should quit the city; it was declared a capital crime for any of them to stop even one night within the walls of Dublin or its suburbs; and it was prohibited, under penalty of death and the confiscation of property, to receive into their houses any Jesuit or priest, and at the same time large rewards were held out to all who would give information against the violaters of this edict.*

7. Whilst the sword of persecution thus rendered desolate the Church of Dublin,† another scourge was sent by Providence to test the virtue of our suffering people. In the month of June,

* *Relatio*, &c., ut *supra*.

† The Catholics in the neighbourhood of Dublin were treated with as much severity as in the city itself. Near Clontarf, fifty-six men, women, and children were thrown into the sea by order of a Colonel Crafford. Massacres were also committed at Malahide, Wicklow, Arklow, and other parts of the country. At Naas, an unoffending clergyman, Father Higgins, was hanged, by order of that monster, Sir Charles Coote. Other instances of barbarity are recorded in O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*, p. 224, etc.

1650, the plague commenced its first ravages within the city walls. "In my diocese," writes the archbishop, "almost all the priests have died or have been murdered by the enemy; the religious are scattered, and my flock, for the greater part, has been destroyed by war and famine, though the pestilence has, as yet, scarcely made its appearance amongst us." (Letter of 6th June, 1650.) Nevertheless, before the close of that year, the plague had numbered amongst its victims 16,000 of the inhabitants.* Many fled to the country parts to avoid the contagion; for three years it raged with unabated fury, during which interval the number of its victims was swelled beyond 30,000.† It was only in the winter of 1651 that the violence of the disease seemed for a time relaxed, but the rage of the heretics against the Catholics was then increased tenfold.‡

8. On the Feast of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr, the governor of the city, desirous to slay the souls of those who perchance had escaped

* *Missio Soc. Jesu, &c.*, written in 1651. Borlase states that "in the summer of 1650, 17,000 persons died of the plague in Dublin."

† *Litteræ annuæ, &c.*, 1662; "*toto illo tempore tantopere sæviit ut supra 30 millia hominum e vivis sustulerit.*"

‡ *Ibid.* "In sequente hieme furor pestis nonnihil desæviit, sed hæreticorum rabies in orthodoxos incaluit."

from the pestilence, published an edict* commanding all Catholics of whatsoever sex or age to present themselves at the heretical churches, or otherwise within fourteen days to remove, under penalty of death, beyond two miles from the city walls; none were allowed to return to the city without a written permission from the governor, and then only by day, for all Catholics were absolutely prohibited to rest for even one night within the walls. No alternative now remained to the Catholics; "they had to choose between the death of the body or of the soul. Yet of all the dense population of Dublin, only five hundred of the lowest populace, impelled by fear of cold and famine, and other impending calamities (to them far more dreadful than the sword), presented themselves at the churches of

* A letter from Dublin, 11th November, 1650, states : "The Tories are very busy in these parts, and it is probable they will increase, for all the papists are to be turned out of the city; and for the jesuits, priests, friars, monks, and nuns, £20 will be given to any that can bring certain intelligence where any of them are; and whosoever doth harbour or conceal any one of them is to forfeit life and estates." (From proceedings in Parliament, 1650, page 912.) So rigorously was this order carried out that the Governor of Dublin was able to write on 19th of June, 1651: "Though Dublin hath formerly swarmed with papists, I know none now there, but one who is a chirurgeon, and a peaceable man. It is much hoped the glad tidings of salvation will be acceptable in Ireland, and that this savage people may see the salvation of God."—See *Prendergast*, page 139.

the heretics.”* A merciful Providence† was not wanting to those who chose to suffer everything rather than imperil their faith. Such Catholics as yet retained some property outside the city walls welcomed the exiles to their roofs, and shared with them their remaining goods, till in the following year the rigour of the edict was again relaxed, whilst at the same time all were gladdened by the return in penance to the bosom of mother church of the greater part of the five hundred who had fallen away.‡

* Inter tot augustias, ex confertissimo totius urbis Dublinensis populo, quingenti tantum gregarii homines, frigoris, famis aliarumque ærumnarum ferendarum foris apprehensione percussi, quas plus gladio pertimescebant, hæreticorum templa adierunt.” *Missio* loc. cit.

† This same merciful Providence has continued to watch over the city, even to the present time; and it appears from the last census that, notwithstanding so many persecutions inflicted on Catholics, and so much protection and so many favours bestowed upon the members of the Established Church, there are at present in the city and county of Dublin—Catholics, 307,614; of the Established Church, 81,248. This result is a convincing proof of the vitality of Catholicity and the sterility of Protestantism; yet, such is the iniquity of the law, that the miserable minority holds possession of the churches built by our forefathers for Catholic worship, and of the large property of the Catholic Church destined for the support of the Catholic religion and of the poor.

‡ Ibid. “Maxima pars eorum qui hæreticorum conciones adierant, in gremium S. Matris Ecclesiæ convolarunt.”

9. These orders for the expulsion of the Catholics were frequently renewed in the succeeding years, and it was only by privilege that some few were permitted to remain there for a short time. Thus, on 5th June, 1654, "the Governor of Dublin was authorized to grant licenses to such inhabitants to continue in the city as he should judge convenient, the licenses to contain the name, age, colour of hair, countenance, and stature of every such person; and the license not to exceed twenty days, and the cause of their stay to be inserted in each license."* When, in 1656, a general declaration was published, ordering all the Irish and papists to withdraw to a distance of two miles from all walled towns or garrisons before the 26th of May, that year, special orders were issued to the Mayor of Dublin to report what progress had been made in carrying it into effect. On 24th October new instructions were given to the same "to take effectual means to remove all the papists that might be then dwelling in the city, and all places within the city, within forty-eight hours after the publication of the order."† Subsequently, on 19th of November, a list of all the papists still remaining in Dublin was returned to the Council, with the view of ordering them to be tried by court-martial. Nor were these mere threats: *the prisons were choked*, to use

* Prendergast, *Settlement*, p. 137.

† Ibid., 141.

the words of the Commissioners, and the gallows too had its victims. Thus, on the 3rd of April, 1655, we find commemorated that Mr. Edward Hetherington, of Kilnemanagh, being tried by a court-martial, which sat in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, was led out to execution, and "duly hanged, with placards on his breast and back: *For not transplanting.*"* Sometimes the orders of Council were directed against particular classes of citizens; for instance, on the 10th October, 1656, at the petition of William Hartley and other Protestants, instructions were issued for "all popish shoemakers to be searched for by the mayor and sheriffs of Dublin, and none to be allowed to inhabit in Dublin or its suburbs." Again, on 3rd of April, 1657, on the petition of the Protestant coopers of Dublin, the mayor and sheriffs were ordered "to report to the Council Board why the Irish coopers had not been removed."†

It will not, therefore, surprise us to find that, in this very year, 1657, the newly appointed Vicar Apostolic of Dublin, Dr. James Dempsey, declared to the Holy See that "*there were not, in the diocese of Dublin, Catholics enough to form three parishes.*"‡ How consoling it is to reflect that,

* Ibid., p. 53.

† Ibid., pp. 140-1.

‡ "Dublinii non sunt tot Catholici quot constituerent tres Paroecias." Ex actis Sac. Cong., an. 1657.

after two hundred years of almost uninterrupted persecution, the mustard seed has grown into a mighty tree, and, instead of 3,000, we find well nigh 350,000 Catholics in the diocese of Dublin.

CHAPTER II.

SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS IN CASHEL.

1. BARBARITY OF INCHIUIN AT THE TAKING OF CASHEL, DESCRIBED BY A JESUIT FATHER.—2. FATHER STAPLETON'S DEATH.—3. OF T. BARRY, O.S.D.—4. PILLAGE OF THE CATHEDRAL.—*Note.* MASSACRE OF FEMALES MENTIONED BY RINUCCINI.

1. In 1647, the Earl of Inchiquin, having administered the *covenant* to his apostate followers, led them on to the assault of Cashel. Along his march he everywhere burned the crops, and massacred the peasantry; and to the present day his name is familiar in the household traditions of our country, as "Murrough of the burning." All the cruel deeds, however, of that sanguinary monster sink into insignificance when compared with the sack of the ancient city of Cashel. "There is not on record," says the Rev. Mr. Meehan, "a more appalling tragedy;" and the following details, taken from the manuscript narrative of the Irish superior of the Jesuits

written early in 1651, more than justify this assertion :*

"Cashel became not only a prey to the enemy, but even a slaughter house.† The city being but badly fortified, it accepted the offer of conditions from Inchiquin, and opened its gates. The garrison, about 300 in number, together with the priests and religious, as also very many of the citizens, retired to the cathedral church, which holds a strong position, and is styled the Rock of St. Patrick. The enemy having taken possession of the city, and in part destroyed it by fire, assailed the cathedral with all their forces, but were heroically repulsed by our troops. After a long combat, the general of the enemy suspended the fight, and, demanding a surrender, offered permission to the garrison to depart with their arms and ammunition, and all the honours of war, requiring, however, that the citizens and clergy should be abandoned to his mercy. It was then that the true heroism of the Catholic soldiers was seen. They refused to listen to any conditions unless the citizens and clergy, whom they had undertaken to defend, should be sharers in them; and they added, that they chose rather to consecrate their lives to God on that Rock of St. Patrick, than to allow that sanctuary to be profaned by dogs. The assault was then renewed with extreme ferocity; the enemy being seven thousand in number, assailed the church on every side, entering by the windows and the shattered doors. Nevertheless, for some time the struggle was bravely maintained within the church, till our few troops were rather overwhelmed by the multitude of the enemy than vanquished by them.‡

* *Relatio rerum quarundam, &c., ut sup.*

† "*Hosti cessit non modo in prædam sed et in lanienam.*"

‡ "*Obruti potius quam superati sunt.*"

“ When all resistance ceased, then was the cruelty of the heretics displayed against the priests and religious, one of whom was of our society, by name F. William Boyton. Many old men, of eighty years of age, aged females, some of them in their hundreth year, besides innumerable other citizens, who had grown old, not only in years but in piety, and whose only arms were their prayers, prostrate around the steps of the altar, now empurpled them with their blood, whilst the infirm, who had been borne to the church as to a place of sacred refuge, and the innocent children were slain on the very altar.

“ Within the cathedral nine hundred and twelve was the number of the slain, of whom more than five hundred were of the heretical troops, and about four hundred of the Catholics.* Everywhere dead bodies were to be seen, which for some days remained uninterred. The altars and chapels, the sacristy and seats were covered with them, and in no place could the foot rest on anything save on the corpses of the slain.”

2. One of the priests who had taken refuge in the cathedral, Father Theobald Stapleton, was remarkable for his piety; clothed with surplice and stole, and holding a crucifix in his left hand, he sprinkled with holy water the enemy's troops as they rushed into the sacred edifice. The heretics, mad with rage, strove with each other who should pierce him with their swords, and thus he was hewn to pieces. At each wound the holy man exclaimed, “strike this miserable sinner!” till he yielded his soul into the hands of his Creator.

3. In the town itself no fewer than 3,000 were

* Ex quibus Catholici fere quadringenti ; ex hæreticis supra quingentos.

massacred by the heretical enemy,* and twenty priests were martyred within the sanctuary. The heroic death of Father Richard Barry, of the order of St. Dominick, is especially recorded :†—

“ When the priests had been cut to pieces, Richard Barry alone survived. Him did God reserve for greater trials. The captain seeing the venerable friar in his habit, and struck by his noble and sanctified appearance, said to him : ‘ Your life is your own, provided you fling off that habit ; but if you cling to such a banner, verily you peril life itself.’ When the father replied, that his habit was an emblem of the passion of the Redeemer, and more dear to him than life ; ‘ think more wisely,’ rejoined the captain ; ‘ indulge not this blind passion for martyrdom, for if you comply not with my orders, death awaits you.’ ‘ But if so,’ said the father, ‘ your cruelties will be to me a blessing, and death itself great gain.’ Infuriated at this answer, they bound the venerable man to a stone chair, kindled a slow fire under his feet and legs, and after two hours of torture his eyes flashed their last upon that heaven which he was about to enter. Then did his persecutors transfix the lifeless body with their spears, while yet the bubbling blood trickled from the parched arteries.”

4. The demoniac scenes that followed most

* Dr. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, in a letter of 20th Dec., 1659, writes : “ Ego plures meas papiros ac libros perdidit per infestissimum Christiano nomini hostem Baronem de Inshequin, cujus milites ter Ecclesiam et ades meas omni prætioso ornatu et supellectili spoliarunt.”

† See Dominic de Rosario's history of the Geraldines, p. 22, originally printed in Lisbon, 1755 ; translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, and published by Duffy, Dublin, 1847.

clearly proved how great a share religious hatred had in stimulating the fanatical Covenanters to this fearful massacre :—

“ The heretics set to work at once to destroy all the sacred things which had been stored in the cathedral of St. Patrick. The altars were overturned ; the images that were painted on wood were consigned to the flames ; those on canvas were used as bedding for the horses, or were cut into sacks for burdens. The great crucifix, which stood at the entrance of the choir, as if it had been guilty of treason, was beheaded, and soon after its hands and feet were amputated. With a like fury did they rage against all the other chapels of the city ; gathering together the sacred vases and all the most precious vestments, they, through ridicule of our ceremonies, formed a procession. They advanced through the public squares, wearing the sacred vestments, and having the priests' caps on their heads, and inviting to Mass those whom they met with on the way. A beautiful statue of the immaculate Virgin taken from our Church was borne along (the head being broken off), in mock state, with laughter and ridicule. The leader of the Puritan army had, moreover, the temerity to assume the archiepiscopal mitre, and boast that he was now not only governor and lieutenant of Munster, but also Archbishop of Cashel.”*

Note.—The above pages were written when the author adverted to an additional circumstance connected with the massacre of Cashel, which is commemorated by Rinuccini in the *Relation* of his Nunciature, which he presented to Innocent X., immediately after his return to Rome. He states that in the Chapel of St. Patrick many helpless females had gathered around the statue of the saint, and were there barbarously massacred by the Puritan assailants. (*Nunciatura*, page 416.)

.. * *Relatio*, &c., ut sup.

CHAPTER III.

SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS IN DROGHEDA.

- 1.—CROMWELL DECLARES THAT NO MERCY IS TO BE SHOWN TO THE IRISH.—2. MASSACRE IN DROGHEDA; PARLIAMENT THANKS CROMWELL.—3. SLAUGHTER IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH.—4. LETTER OF DR. FLEMING OF DUBLIN; DEATH OF F. BATHE, HIS BROTHER, AND F. NETTERVILLE, S.J.—*Note.* CROMWELL VIOLATED THE GIVEN FAITH.—5. PARLIAMENT VOTES THANKS TO CROMWELL FOR HIS BARBARITY.

1. Cromwell landed on our shores in 1649, firmly resolved to acquire popularity amongst his fellow-Puritans by the extermination of the Irish *papists*. On his arrival in Dublin he addressed his soldiers, and declared that no mercy should be shown to the Irish, and that they should "be dealt with as the Canaanites in Joshua's time."*

2. The city of Drogheda was the first theatre of his exterminating fury. No sooner had the garrison of the town submitted on the promise of quarter, than orders were given for an indiscriminate massacre. There were in the city 3,000 choice troops, commanded by the brave Sir Arthur Ashton, a Catholic. Three times did they repel the charge of the 10,000 assailants, till, seeing

* "Dr. Anderson's Royal Gen.," 76. 8

further resistance fruitless, they accepted the conditions proposed to them. Cromwell, writing to the Parliament, makes it a boast that, despite the promised quarter, he himself gave orders that all should be put to the sword;* and, subsequently, in the usual Puritanical phrases of that period, he styles that worse than brutal massacre, *a righteous judgment of God upon the barbarous wretches; a great mercy vouchsafed to us; a great thing done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God.* As to the slaughter of the inhabitants, it continued for five days, and the Puritan troops spared neither age nor sex, so much so, that the Earl of Ormond, writing to the secretary of Charles II., to convey the intelligence of the loss of Drogheda, declares that "Cromwell had exceeded himself, and anything he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity." General Ludlow, in his despatches, speaks of it as *an extraordinary severity*, and, indeed, Cromwell's own letters present sufficient data to justify these statements.

3. The church of St. Peter, within the city, had been for centuries a place of popular devotion; a little while before the siege the Catholics had re-obtained possession of it, and dedicated it to the service of God, and the holy Sacrifice was once more celebrated there with special pomp and solemnity. Thither many of the citizens now

* Letter, Sept. 17, 1649, to Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament in England.

fled, as to a secure asylum, and, with the clergy, prayed around the altar; but the Puritans respected no sanctuary of religion: "*In this very place,*" writes Cromwell, "*near one thousand of them were put to the sword. I believe all the friars* were killed but two, the one of which was Father Peter Taafe, brother to the Lord Taafe, whom the soldiers took the next day, and made an end of; the other was taken in the round tower—he confessed he was a friar, but that did not save him.*" We learn some further particulars about this massacre in St. Peter's church from *Johnston's History of Drogheda*:—

"Quarter had been promised to all those who should lay down their arms; but it was only observed until all resistance was at an end. Many, confiding in this promise, at once yielded themselves prisoners; and the rest, unwilling to trust to the mercy of Cromwell, took shelter in the steeple of St. Peter's; at the same time the most respectable of the inhabitants sheltered themselves within the body of the church. Here Cromwell advanced, and, after some deliberation, concluded on blowing up the building. For this purpose he laid a quantity of powder in an old subterraneous passage which was open, and went under the church; but, changing his resolution, he set fire to the steeple, and, as the garrison rushed out to avoid the flames, they were slaughtered. After this he ordered the inhabitants in the church to be put to the sword, among whom many of the Carmelites fell a sacrifice. He then plundered the building, and defaced its principal ornaments."

Thomas Wood, one of the Puritan officers en-

* They were Carmelites.

gaged in this massacre, and brother of the justly celebrated Anthony Wood, relates that a multitude of the most defenceless inhabitants, comprising all the principal ladies of the city, were concealed in the crypts or vaults of the church; thither the bloodhounds tracked them, and not even to one was mercy shown.* Lord Clarendon also records, that during the five days, whilst the streets of Drogheda ran with blood, "*the whole army executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the sword.*"†

4. Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, in a letter to the Sacred Congregation (5th June, 1653), says, that four thousand brave men, amongst whom his own nephew, Colonel Fleming, were slain in this frightful massacre; and Cromwell himself‡ reckoned that less than thirty of the defendants were *not massacred, and these, he adds, are in safe custody for the Barbadoes.*

The manuscript narrative often referred to§ presents many details regarding this horrid tragedy, "The city being captured by the heretics, the blood of the Catholics was mercilessly

* "In vit. Anton. Wood."

† Hist. vol. vi. p. 395.

‡ See lett. cit. ut. sup.

§ Relatio rerum, &c. written in 1651.

shed in the streets,* and in the dwelling-houses, and in the open fields; to none was mercy shown, not to the women, nor to the aged, nor to the young. The property of the citizens became the prey of the parliamentary troops; everything in our residence was plundered; the library, the sacred chalices, of which there were many of great value, as well as all the furniture, sacred and profane, were destroyed. On the following day, when the soldiers were searching through the ruins of the city, they discovered one of our fathers, named John Bathe, with his brother, a secular priest: suspecting that they were religious, they examined them, and finding that they were priests, and one of them, moreover, a Jesuit, they led them off in triumph, and accompanied by a tumultuous crowd, conducted them to the market-place, and there, as if they were at length extinguishing the Catholic religion and our society, they tied them both to stakes fixed in the ground, and pierced their bodies with shot till they expired."

Father Robert Netterville was another victim of their fury. He was aged and confined to bed by his infirmities, nevertheless, "he was forced away by the soldiers and dragged along the

* The street leading to St. Peter's church retained even within the memory of the present generation the name of *Bloody-street*; it is the tradition of the place that the blood of those slain in the cathedral formed a regular torrent in this street.

ground, being violently knocked against each obstacle that presented itself on the way ; then they beat him with clubs, and when many of his bones were broken, they cast him on the highway ; on the fourth day, having fought a good fight, he departed this life to receive, as we hope, the martyr's crown."*

Some modern writers have vainly attempted to prove that no promise of quarter was given to the garrison of Drogheda. However, even Borlase (*Irish Insur.*, page 282) confesses that this promise was made. Dr. Lynch also expressly writes,—

“ Cromwell, though at the head of a large army besieging Drogheda, could not take the town until its defenders had received a promise of their lives from some persons of high rank in his army ; nevertheless, Cromwell instantly issued the savage order for that most atrocious massacre.”

This violation of faith was however no unusual occurrence with the Puritans ; I will give a few further instances from the last mentioned author :

“ The garrison and citizens of Moate, near Drogheda, surrendered *on terms* to Cromwell himself, yet they were all massacred by his orders. . . . Shortly after the commencement of the late war, the castle of Sligo was besieged by the enemy. The commander of the besieging force promised in writing to spare

* Ibid. Another MS. history of the Jesuit order in Ireland briefly states regarding the massacre at Drogheda : “ All the Catholic citizens were cut off by Cromwell ; one of our society was tied to a stake and hewn in pieces. Six of our fathers were then there ; now there is none.”—Anno 1665.

the lives of the besieged ; but as soon as the castle gates were thrown open, the garrison was shamefully butchered to a man when the Kilkenny delegates complained to Cromwell of the daily infraction of the conditions granted by himself, he is said to have answered, that as he was now in England, he could not be bound by the stipulations he had made in Ireland."— (*Camb. Evers.* vol. iii. p. 187).

5. For the unparalleled brutality displayed on this occasion a vote of thanks was passed by parliament to Cromwell, a day of general thanksgiving throughout the kingdom was ordered, and it was decreed "that the house does approve of the execution done at Drogheda, as an act of justice to themselves and of mercy to others who might be warned thereby."*

CHAPTER IV.

SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS IN WEXFORD.

1. MASSACRE IN WEXFORD IN 1649.—2. SEVERAL PRIESTS AND RELIGIOUS KILLED.—3. LETTER OF THE BISHOP, DR. FRENCH, ON THIS MASSACRE.—4. EXTRACTS FROM HIS APOLOGY.—5. MASSACRE OF 300 FEMALES AT THE CROSS IN WEXFORD.—6. SAVAGE CRUELTY OF GENERAL COOKE AND CAPTAIN BOLTON.

1. In Wexford the scenes of Puritan barbarism were again renewed. Cromwell having obtained possession of the town through the

* In Common's Journal, &c.

treachery of one of Ormond's officers, "*thought it not good or just to restrain the soldiers from their right of pillage, nor from doing of execution on the enemy.*"* In his opinion the massacre of the inhabitants could only be likened to that of Drogheda, and he adds: "It pleased God to give into your hands *this other mercy*, for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory." In the same letter he estimates the number of the garrison thus butchered at 2,000, and recommends the Parliament to send over English Protestants to inhabit the city, as "of the former inhabitants not one in twenty can be found to challenge any property in their own houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them were killed in this service. God, by an unexpected providence in His righteous justice brought a just judgment on them, causing them to become a prey to the soldiers."

2. It was on the 11th of October that the enemy entered the town of Wexford. The History of the Jesuits in Ireland, by Father St. Leger (1655), thus briefly sketches the scene of slaughter that ensued: "On the city being taken, Cromwell exterminated the citizens by the sword." Another contemporary record details the special sufferings of the friars of the order of St. Francis: "On the 11th of October, 1649, seven friars of our order, all men of extraordi-

* Lett. of Crom. to the Parl.

nary merit, and natives of the town, perished by the sword of the heretics. Some of them were killed kneeling before the altar, and others whilst hearing confessions. Father Raymond Stafford, holding a crucifix in his hand, came out of the church to encourage the citizens, and even preached with great zeal to the infuriated enemies themselves, till he was killed by them in the market-place.* The Archbishop of Dublin, in the letter already referred to, repeats the same in a few words: "At Wexford," he says, "many priests, some religious, innumerable citizens, and two thousand soldiers were massacred."†

3. The fullest narrative, however, of the persecution in this town, is presented by the venerable bishop of the diocese, Dr. Nicholas French. When Dr. French was appointed Bishop of Ferns, he seems to have strenuously resisted his promotion; whereupon some of the leading priests of the diocese drew up a memorial in reply to the difficulties he had proposed. This memorial is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and is dated *Wexford, 10th October, 1645*. Amongst other things the memorialists state, that "he was advanced to the episcopate, not by purchase, or solicitation, or interest, but called by

* Letter of F. Francis Stafford. See it in full in *Duffy's Magaz.*, May, 1847.

† "Multi Sacredotes, nonnulli religiosi, plurimi cives, et duo millia militum trucidati."—Lett. 5 June, 1650.

God, as the faithful and prudent servant whom God placed over His household. '*It was then,*' says St. Gregory, '*a praiseworthy thing to aspire to the episcopate, when by it one only obtained more sufferings, and when he who ruled the faithful had, for his privilege, to be led out the first to the trials of martyrdom.*' And, perhaps, in the calamitous times in which we now live, these words may be well applied to the bishops of Ireland." These words were in part prophetic, and during the subsequent period of persecution, Dr. French was foremost in sharing the perils and privations of his flock. From the place of his exile he thus wrote to the internuncio in the month of January, 1673:—

"On one day I lost, for the cause of God and the faith, all that I possessed: it was the 11th of October, 1649; on that most lamentable day my native city of Wexford, abounding in wealth, ships, and merchandize, was destroyed by the sword,* and given a prey to the infuriated soldiery, by Cromwell, that English pest of hell.† There, before God's altar, fell many sacred victims, holy priests of the Lord; others, who were seized outside the precincts of the church, were scourged with whips; others were hanged; some were arrested and bound with chains; and others were put to death by various most cruel tortures. The best blood of the citizens was shed; the very squares were inundated with it,‡ and there was scarcely a house that was not defiled

* In ore gladii deleta fuit.

† Peste inferni Anglicana.

‡ Fundebatur clarus civium sanguis quo inundabant plateæ, &c.

with carnage, and full of wailing. In my own palace a youth, hardly sixteen years of age—an amiable boy—as also my gardiner and sacristan, were cruelly butchered; and the chaplain, whom I caused to remain behind me at home, was transpierced with six mortal wounds. These things were perpetrated in open day by the impious assassins. From that moment (and this it is that renders me a most unhappy man) I have never seen my city, or my flock, or my native land, or my kindred. After the destruction of the city I lived for five months in the woods, with death ever impending over me. There my drink was milk and water, a small quantity of bread was my food, and on one occasion I did not taste bread during five days; there was no need of cookery for my scanty meals, and I slept in the open air without either bed or bed-clothes. At length the wood in which I lay concealed was surrounded by numerous bodies of the enemy, who anxiously sought to capture me and send me loaded with chains to England. My angel guardian being my guide, I burst through their lines and escaped, owing to the swiftness of my able steed.”*

4. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, another letter of this prelate is preserved, written at the same period, and entitled “Apologia,” being a defence of the course he had pursued in seeking his safety in exile. In it he thus addresses his accuser:—

“You say nothing about my native city, Wexford, cruelly destroyed by the sword on the 11th of October, 1649; nothing of my palace being plundered, and of my domestics impiously slain; nothing of my fellow-labourers, precious victims, immolated by the impious sword of the

* Litt. Nicol. Fernens. Ep. ad Internuntium. Answeræ Jan. 1673. From the original letter,

heretics before the altar of God ; nothing of the inhabitants weltering in their own blood and gore. The rumour of the direful massacre reached me whilst I was in a neighbouring town, suffering from a burning fever. I cried and mourned, and shed bitter tears, and lamented ; and turning to heaven, with a deep sigh, cried out, in the words of the prophet Jeremias, and all who were present shared in my tears. In that excessive bitterness of my soul, a thousand times I wished to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, that thus I might not witness the sufferings of my country. From that period I have never seen my city or my people, but, as an outcast, I sought a refuge in the wilderness. I wandered through woods and mountains, generally taking my rest and repose exposed to the hoar frost, sometimes lying hid in the caves and caverns of the earth. In the woods and groves I passed more than five months, that thus I might administer some consolation to the few survivors of my flock who had escaped from the universal massacre, and dwelt there with the herds of cattle. But neither trees nor caverns could afford me lasting refuge ; for, the heretical governor of Wexford, George Cooke, well known for his barbarity, with several troops of cavalry and foot soldiers, searching everywhere, anxious for my death, explored even the highest mountains and most difficult recesses ; the huts and habitations adjoining the wood, and in which I sometimes had offered the Holy Sacrifice, he destroyed by fire, and my hiding places, which were formed of branches and leafy boughs of trees, were all overturned. Amongst those who were subjected to much annoyance, on my account, was a nobleman in whose house he supposed me to lie concealed. He searched the whole house with lighted tapers, accompanied by soldiers, holding their naked swords in their hands to slay me the moment I should appear ; but amidst all these perils God protected me, and mercifully delivered me from the hands of this blood-thirsty man."

5. In these extracts, the public square or market place is referred to as the chief scene of this wholesale massacre. Many of the principal inhabitants had assembled there, and no fewer than 300 females are said to have chosen the same place of refuge. They knelt around the great cross which was erected in its centre, and they hoped that their defenceless condition, their prayers and cries, would move the enemy to compassion. The ruthless barbarian, the pagan Goth or Hun would have been moved to pity, but Puritan fanaticism had steeled the hearts of Cromwell's followers against every sentiment of mercy, and the market-place of Wexford was soon inundated with the blood of these martyrs.*

6. In the above extracts Dr. French also de-

* Some have questioned the accuracy of the statement made by M'Geoghegan and Lingard as to the massacre of these females around the cross of Wexford; they say Dr. French and other contemporary writers would not be silent in regard of this particular. But these contemporary writers sufficiently describe the wholesale massacre of the inhabitants, without mercy being shown to age or sex; and any particulars that are added have a special reference to themselves. The same writers, when describing the destruction of Drogheda, are silent as to the massacre of the females in the crypts of St. Peter's Church; and were it not for the narrative of an officer, who himself was engaged in that barbarous deed, some critics would probably now be found to reject it as fabulous. The constant tradition, not only of Wexford, but of the whole nation, attests the truth of the statement of the above-mentioned historians.

scribes George Cooke, the commander of the Puritans in Wexford, as especially remarkable for his brutality and cruelty. Some instances recorded by the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, more than justify his description. After stating that a security has been given by him to the inhabitants of Wexford, that they might reside in their own homes, he adds:—

“But this same Cooke afterwards authorized Captain Bolton, before the expiration of the stipulated day, to scour that county with his cavalry and plunder it; then commenced an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, by which not less than four thousand souls, young and old, were atrociously butchered. In 1652, the same General Cooke, shut up 300 men and many infants in a house in the county of Wexford, and then setting fire to the house, all were burned in the flames. But Captain Gore, one of the officers under Cooke, succeeded in concealing on his horse, under his cloak, a little boy that had escaped out of the house. Cooke discovering the fact before they had retired very far from the house, burst into a violent rage, severely condemned the captain, and returning himself with the poor little innocent boy, hurled him into the raging flames. Little wonder that Captain Bolton, who had formerly executed the savage orders of his commander, should emulate the ferocity and act on the principles of his master, and leave some other monuments of his own treachery and savageness.”—(Vol. iii. pp. 191-3.)

CHAPTER V.

SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS IN CORK.

I. CORK SURRENDERED TO THE PURITANS BY THE PER-
FIDY OF INCHIUIN'S OFFICERS.—2. SUFFERINGS
AND CONSTANCY OF THE PEOPLE.—3. HEROISM OF
THE CLERGY.

1. Whilst these deeds of cruel barbarity were perpetrated by Cromwell's troops, many of the southern towns, through the treachery of the officers of Inchiquin, were surrendered into the hands of the Puritans, and thus they, too, soon became the theatres of a most violent persecution. The narrative from which many extracts have already been made,* gives the following details as to the city of Cork:—

“The fury of the most cruel persecution, carried on by the Parliamentarians against the Catholics, reached Cork without having to encounter any obstacle. For, the president of the province pretending to be a liege minister of the king, was, together with his troops, admitted without difficulty within the walls. Having thus, under pretence of defending it for the king, got possession of the city, he perfidiously handed it over to the Parliamentarians.”

2. Their first edict was, that all the clergy should at once depart from the city, permitting,

* *Relatio rerum quarundam, &c.* Anno 1650.

however, four parish priests to remain, lest the Catholic citizens, who were as yet too powerful, might be impelled to revolt. As the Puritan forces increased, fresh pretexts were found for new persecutions:—

“The hatred of the heretics for our religion (the narrative thus continues) becoming greater and greater every day, an order was published prohibiting the citizens to carry swords, or to have in their houses any arms whatsoever. This being effected, another proclamation was issued by the president of the council of war, commanding all Catholics either to abjure their religion or to immediately depart from the city. Should they consent to embrace the parliamentary teaching (parliamentarian religionem), they were permitted to remain and enjoy their goods and property. Should they, however, pertinaciously adhere to *popery*, all, without exception, were to immediately depart from the city. Three cannon shots were to be fired as signals at stated intervals before nightfall, and any Catholic that should be found in the city after the third signal, was to be massacred without mercy. It was then that the constancy of the citizens in the faith was seen. There was not even one to be found in the whole city to accept the proffered impious condition, or to seek to enjoy his property and goods with the detriment of his faith. Before the third signal all went forth from the city walls—the men and the women, yea, even the children and the infirm: and it was a sight truly worthy of heaven to see so many thousands thus abandoning their homes—so many venerable matrons, with their tender children, wandering through the fields, or overcome by fatigue, seated on the ground, in ditches, or on the highways; so many aged men, some of whom had held high offices in the state, and were members of the nobility, with their wives and families, wandering to and fro, knowing not where to

seek a place of refuge; so many merchants who, on that morning, abounded in wealth, but now had not a home in which to rest their weary limbs, yet all with joy went forth to their destruction, abandoning their houses and goods, their revenues and property and wealth, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, on the mountain tops, and in the caverns, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, than to enjoy momentary pleasures and temporal prosperity with sin."

3. The clergy were not less devoted to the sacred cause of faith than their spiritual children, and some of them, as we will hereafter see, displayed a heroism in death which rivalled the martyrs of the early Church. The Annals of St. Mary's Priory preserve the names of three zealous Dominican labourers in this city: "Father Thomas Fitzgerald (they say), a Dominican, a good priest, combining great zeal and piety with primitive simplicity of manners, dressed himself as a peasant, and in that assumed garb served the Catholics of Cork, during the entire period of Cromwell's usurpation. Father Eustace Maguire was no less distinguished in the time of terror and persecution for his intrepid courage than for his meek piety and religious zeal. Being chosen by the Catholics as governor of the castle of Druimeagh, near Kanturk, he so guarded and defended it during the period of Cromwell's wars that it was never taken or surrendered. Brother Dominic de Burgo, a young professed member of the order of Preachers, and near relative of the Earl of Clanricarde, was made prisoner on

board of the ship in which he had taken his passage for Spain to pursue his studies. He was thrown into prison at Kinsale, whence he made his escape by jumping from the top of the jail wall down on the sea shore. For two days he lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, all covered with mud, without clothing, food, or drink. At length he found shelter under the hospitable roof of the Roches in that neighbourhood, probably of Garrettstown. He was, at a later period of life, the celebrated Bishop of Elphin, for whose head or capture the government offered a large reward, and to whom Oliver Plunket, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh, wrote from his dungeon, warning him of the attempts of the Privy Council against his life. He died in exile."*

* See the interesting "Account of the New Dominican Convent of Cork, &c., with an Abstract of the Annals, &c." Cork, 1850, p. 21, seq.

CHAPTER VI.

SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS IN KILKENNY.

1. PROHIBITION OF THE MASS; PLAGUE IN KILKENNY; LETTER OF DR. FLEMING; DEATH OF DR. DAVID ROTH.—2. LETTER OF DR. LYNCH OF GALWAY; PROFANATION OF CATHOLIC CHURCHES.—3. ZEAL OF FATHER PATRICK LEA.—4. ORDERS OF COMMITTEE OF TRANSPLANTATION.

1. After the massacre of Wexford, Cromwell invited the other cities and towns to surrender. Should they consent to receive parliamentary garrisons, their property and goods were to be secured to them, and no inquiries were to be made as to religion. One thing only would be required, that *the Mass* should be abolished, "for," he added, "wheresoever the sway and authority of Parliament extends, the Mass shall not be tolerated." However unable the Catholics might be to resist the torrent of destruction that was now bursting upon them, yet they were too devoted to the faith to embrace this impious condition, and, as we learn from Dr. Burgatt (subsequently Archbishop of Cashel), not one was found in the whole island who would consent to barter his religion for the proffered

boon.* Thus the sword of extermination was again unsheathed.

“Catholicity was flourishing in the city of Kilkenny when the Puritan army, like a devastating torrent, overturning everything in its course, appeared before its walls.”† Whilst the inhuman foe threatened it from without, another scourge laid it waste within. The plague raged with such fury, that its brave garrison was reduced from 1,200 to 400. So dreadful was the contagion, that when the Earl of Castlehaven selected some troops to succour it, they refused to march, declaring they were ready to fight against man, but not against God. The enemy granted favourable conditions to the citizens, but no sooner had they got possession of the city, than these were violated; they impiously profaned the churches, overturned the altars, destroyed the paintings and crosses, and profaned all things sacred. The vestments, which had been for the most part concealed, were discovered and plundered by the soldiery; the books and paintings were cast into the streets, and either destroyed by fire or brought away as booty.” The holy bishop, Dr. David Rooth, venerable for his years, his piety, his learning, and his zeal, had just entered a carriage to seek for safety by flight,

* “*Brevis Relatio de præsentī in Hibernia fidei et Ecclesiæ statu*,” written in 1667, in my possession.

† *Relatio rerum, &c.*

when the enemy arrived. They inhumanly dragged him from his seat, despoiled him of his garments, and then clothing him with a tattered cloak which was covered with vermin, they cast him into a loathsome dungeon, where, after a prolonged martyrdom, he expired in the month of April, 1650.*

2. Dr. Patrick Lynch of Galway, writing on the 1st of May, 1650, to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, mentions that the rumour had reached him of the death of this holy bishop, of the cruelties exercised in the city of Kilkenny, and of numbers of priests and religious, and citizens, having been put to death.

At the same time the fine old cathedral of St. Canice, and most of the other churches in the surrounding country, were pillaged and plundered by the soldiery. Dr. Williams, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, in a treatise published in 1661, describes the churches of the diocese as unroofed, and their walls thrown down, by the iconoclastic rage of the Parliamentarians, and adds :—

“The great and famous most beautiful Cathedral Church of St. Keney, they have utterly defaced and ruined, thrown down all the roof of it, taken away five great and goodly bells, broken down all the windows, and carried away every bit of the glass (that they say

* Letter of Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, 5th June, 1650.

was worth a great deal), and all the doors of it, so that hogs might come and root, and the dogs gnaw the bones of the dead; and they brake down a most exquisite marble font, wherein the Xtian's children were regenerated, all to pieces, and threw down the many goodly marble monuments that were therein."*

The most recent historian of the Cathedral of St. Canice gives some further particulars to illustrate the profanation of our Catholic sanctuaries by the Protestant soldiers:—

"In 1650," he writes, "Cromwell having occupied the Irishtown (of Kilkenny), and, we may suppose, the Cathedral, on the 25th of March, lodged there the night before his attempt to breach the town wall near the Franciscan abbey. On this occasion, tradition has it that the aisles of the cathedral church were converted into stabling for the horses of the Protector's troops."†

3. Whilst the pestilence raged within the city, one good priest, Father Patrick Lea, was especially distinguished by his charity and zeal. Not only was he untiring in administering to the spiritual wants of the sick and dying, but he also assisted them in their corporal wants; he ministered to the poor even in the most loathsome

* "Seven Treatises," &c. *London*, 1661. One of the windows destroyed by the Puritans was the magnificent eastern window of the chancel, which was valued by the Nuncio Rinuccini at £700.

† "The History, &c., of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice." By Rev. James Graves. *Dublin*, 1857, page 42.

duties, and sometimes, too, he was seen digging graves, and bearing on his shoulders to interment the bodies of those who were abandoned. It was whilst exercising this last-mentioned excess of Christian heroism that he himself was infected with the disease, and expired a martyr of charity a few days before the arrival of Cromwell at the gates of Kilkenny.*

4. The *Committee of Transplantation* published an order in 1654, commanding all Irish and Papists to depart from the city of Kilkenny before the 1st of May. Permission was granted for only forty labourers to remain after that period, and even these were to be persons not otherwise included within the rule of transplantation. Again, on the 15th of May the following year, it was ordered, on the petition of the Protestants of Kilkenny, that “for the better encouragement of an English plantation in the city and liberties, all the houses and lands lately belonging to the Irish, and now in the possession of the State, should be thenceforth demised to English and Protestants, and none others; and that all Irish should quit Kilkenny within twenty days, except such artificers as any four justices of the peace should, for the convenience of that corporation, license to stay for any period not exceeding

one year.”* Neither did the commissioners allow these orders to slumber, and, as an instance, it is mentioned in a letter of March 25th, 165 $\frac{5}{8}$, that Daniel Fitzpatrick was sentenced to death by the commissioners in Kilkenny for refusing to transport himself into Connaught.

CHAPTER VII.

SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS IN WATERFORD.

1. LETTER OF THE BISHOP OF WATERFORD, DR. COMERFORD.—2. DEFENCE OF THE CITY AGAINST CROMWELL.—3. PLAGUE; IRETON OCCUPIES THE CITY.—4. SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE DESCRIBED.

1. In the Barberini archives in Rome, is preserved a letter written on the 9th of March, 1642, by the venerable Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Comerford, to an Irish gentleman resident in Paris, which presents many valuable facts connected with the glorious struggle in which Ireland was then engaged. A few extracts from it will suffice to illustrate our present subject:—

“I attribute your silence to the calamities of these turbulent times. I write this letter to acquaint you with the state of this kingdom, which, for the greater

* *Prendergast*; p. 142.

part, is now engaged in a great and unexpected struggle. It commenced in Ulster, thence it passed to Leinster and Connaught, and in fine to Munster. Its scope and object was to prevent the massacre and utter extermination of the Catholics of this kingdom, which our enemies sought for, and to repel the tyrannical persecution which they had already planned against us, as also to recover the liberties and privileges of our oppressed nation, and to defend and maintain against the Puritans the ancient and royal prerogatives of our most gracious monarch."

He then details the wants of the Irish army, the ports to which succour could be safely sent, and adds :—

"Last week the President of Munster having received reinforcements, once more took the field, together with the Earl of Cork, the Earl of Barrymore, Lord Broghill, and Sir John Browne. Marching to Dungarvan, and seizing on the castle, they set fire to the town, and put to death Father Edmund Hore and Father John Clancy, both priests, together with others of the principal citizens; they then sacked the place and retired, leaving a strong garrison in the castle."

2. It is, however, from the narrative already referred to, as written in 1655, that we learn most particulars of the calamities to which the Catholics of Waterford were subjected at this period: "As the year 1650, it says, spread mourning and sorrow through all parts of the kingdom, so, in a special manner, did it put an end to the happiness of Waterford." Pestilence, famine, and the sword, at the same time assailed the city. The enemy offered, indeed, liberal conditions, together

with the privileges of the citizenship of London, and the free exercise of their religion. But the inhabitants held in mind the interpretation that had been put upon this latter article on the surrender of Ross, when Cromwell declared that it extended only to the internal belief, and not to the open practice of that religion, and hence they resolved on resisting to the last the heretical foe. Dreading the treachery of the royal officers, they refused to admit within the walls the reinforcements which Ormond offered them; and though the siege was carried on with unremitting vigour from September to December, so heroic was the defence, that on the feast of St. Francis Xavier the enemy abandoned the siege in despair.

3. However, "those whom the parliamentary forces could not subdue, were gradually wasted away by pestilence, till at length the city became a prey to the enemy."* Of the many thousands who then defended it, four hundred alone survived, when Ireton, after the siege of Clonmel, advanced a second time against its walls.† Nevertheless, it again resisted for nine weeks "and it came into the enemy's hands, not so much overcome by force, as because it had become a solitude through the violence of the pestilence." For a little while no persecution was proclaimed,

* Relatio, &c.

† "Ex multis armatorum millibus vix superfuerunt quandrigenti armis ferendis idonei," &c. Ibid.

but ere long the virulence of Puritanism was seen ; an edict commanded all Catholics to depart from the city within three months, and thus citizens and clergy were involved in a common ruin ; *“and now glorious confessors of Christ, they seek a secure asylum, scattered through the various regions of the earth.”**

4. From a letter of a Capuchin father (30th June, 1651), written from Waterford to his superior in Rome, we learn that no ecclesiastic dared to appear publicly in the city, and that neither friendship nor rewards could induce the heretics to allow the slightest toleration.† *“As for me,”* he adds, *“I pass freely through the city, for I serve as gardener the chief heretic of this city ; sometimes, too, I work in carrying loads, passing as one of the coalporters.”* We learn further details from the bishop of the diocese, who, writing from his place of exile to Rome (3rd March, 1651), thus depicts the ruin that had fallen on his once chosen flock : *“War and the pestilence have laid waste the whole country ; our churches and altars are profaned and transformed into stables or barracks, or hospitals ; no longer is the sacrifice offered up, nor the divine word preached, nor the holy sacraments administered ; the*

* Ibid. in varias mundi partes gloriosi Christi confessores emigrarunt.

† *“Nullus ecclesiasticus audet apparere : nullum enim horum tolerant aut favore victi aut muneribus.”*

ecclesiastics who were spared by the plague, have been sent into banishment ; the pestilence swept away five thousand of the citizens and soldiery, and yet continues its havoc there. Truly this dire scourge is a chastisement for our sins."

Another manuscript, entitled, "*Narratio Brevis Status Regni Hiberniæ*," &c., written on 13th August, 1651, thus briefly sketches the state of Waterford at the same period :—

"From Waterford all the citizens and old inhabitants were driven forth in the month of May last, being deprived of all their possessions and houses and lands ; neither is there any hope of their being able to return. The same has happened to the Catholics in Dublin and elsewhere. The enemy searches out with the greatest rigour for all priests and religious. Any priests that are arrested are cast into dungeons and chains ; they are barbarously and cruelly treated, and are thence, for the most part, banished to foreign lands. In the month of April, this year, a priest of the order of St. Dominick, for celebrating Mass and administering the Sacraments, especially that of Penance, endured a glorious martyrdom, being hanged in the public square of Clonmel. All such as receive a priest or religious into their houses, or give them any assistance are grievously fined and oppressed."

CHAPTER VIII.

SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS IN LIMERICK.

1. ARDOUR OF THE PEOPLE OF LIMERICK IN THE CATHOLIC CAUSE ; LETTER OF THE BISHOP.—2. CITIZENS DETERMINE NOT TO RECEIVE ORMOND ; THEIR LETTER.—3. IRETON BESIEGES LIMERICK ; IS REPULSED BY HUGH O'NEILL.—4. PLAGUE.—5. ST. VINCENT SENDS MISSIONARIES TO IRELAND.—6. THEIR LABOURS IN LIMERICK.—7. PRAISED BY ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL AND BISHOP OF LIMERICK.—8. PITY OF LIMERICK.—9. LETTER OF DR. O'DWYER.—10. LIMERICK TAKEN BY IRETON.—11. EXECUTION OF THOMAS STRITCH AND SIR PATRICK PURCELL.—12. PROPHECIC WORDS OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL.

1. From the very commencement of the confederate war the citizens of Limerick were remarkable for the ardour with which they entered on the struggle : they were subsequently still more distinguished by the heroism with which they drove Ireton from their walls ; but their renown received its brightest lustre from the true Christian spirit which they displayed, and in which, when overcome by the pestilence and the number of their foes, they chose rather to endure every suffering than abandon the Catholic faith.

As early as the 8th October, 1646, the bishop of that see, writing to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, declared that no longer did any

alternative remain : “ We shall either restore the Catholic Religion in its full splendour, or be all cut off to a man (aut fidem Catholicam stabilire cogamur aut omnes ad unum perire) : one spirit pervades us all but unless timely succour comes from foreign parts, we shall surely be overcome, and the Catholic religion will be rooted out, in defence of which alone this war was begun.”

2. True to their principles, the citizens, even when the Puritan army was marching to the attack, refused to admit Ormond or his troops within the walls. Perhaps one of the most remarkable documents of this period, is the protest which they presented to their bishop in the beginning of 1650, and which they again solemnly laid before the Archbishop of Cashel and the other bishops of Ireland, when assembled in Limerick on 24th of October, the same year. In it they sketch the career of Ormond and Inchiquin, whom they justly stigmatized as traitors :—

“ What succour, they ask, can we expect from Ormond and Inchiquin, the sworn enemies of the Catholic cause ? What good can this nation look forward to from the government of those who persecuted her with fire and sword, and displayed such tyranny, and sacrilege, and profanation, as surpass all former persecutions of the Church ? Should we be necessitated to surrender, will it not be better to enter into negotiations with the Parliament, and secure some conditions, than to open our gates to a domestic enemy, by whom we shall be first despoiled of all our goods and properties, and then, as has happened in so many other cities, be sold to the enemy ? Can any city or town be named which

admitted Ormond within its walls, and was not betrayed by him? Who will dare to deny that it happened so in Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Carlingford, Trim, Athlone, Navan, Naas, Wicklow, Carlow, Ross, Waterford, Wexford, Kilkenny, Carrick, Fethard,* Cashel, and so many other towns, all of which endured such miseries and dire calamities through the treacherous designs of Ormond, as no volume could contain, no pen describe, no tongue express?"

They, moreover, add an important fact that indeed, according to the official returns, £533,564 10s. 11d., that is to say, more than half a million of ready money had been raised from the 1st of January, 1649, to the 1st of January, 1650, for the expenses of the war, in addition to the corn which was gathered, and the civil taxes which were collected as usual; and yet of all this sum only £28,000 had been devoted to the payment of the troops—£16,000 having been given to the heretical soldiers, and only £12,000 to the Catholic army.

3. Before the close of 1651, Ireton sat down a second time before the walls of Limerick. Its heroic garrison, though small, yet being led on by the brave Hugh O'Neill, repulsed the enemy at every assault. For a long time the issue appeared doubtful. The author of "*Brevis Narratio Status Regni Hiberniæ*" thus writes from Connaught, on the 13th of August, 1651:—

* The Latin copy from which this extract is taken, has *Fishendiam*, which I suppose is a mistake for *Fethard*.

"Ireton, at present, by a close siege, hems in Limerick on every side; mounds and batteries and fortresses are everywhere erected around the city; by a repeated bombardment the wall at the western bridge of the city was thrown down, whereupon the enemy attempted an assault, their regular army attacking it by land, whilst by a number of boats and vessels they sought to penetrate into the city on the river side; yet, the citizens of Limerick not only bravely resisted and repelled the assault,¹ but pursued the enemy without the walls, utterly discomfiting them, the number of Ireton's slain being 1,500. The boats and vessels too became a prey to the victors. More than once the assault was repeated, but always with a similar result; so that up to the present time the loss of Ireton's army is reckoned at more than three thousand five hundred."

4. However, famine and the plague soon effected what the power of the enemy could not achieve. Whilst the city was thus laid desolate by the pestilence, it witnessed many scenes of Christian heroism, of which our country may be justly proud. It is chiefly from the memoirs of St. Vincent de Paul that we glean the particulars of the heroic charity, and of the fervour of piety which the citizens then displayed.

5. St. Vincent de Paul, that angel of charity, cherished a special affection for the persecuted Church of Ireland: "The sole detail," says M. Collet, "of all he did and procured to be done in favour of the ecclesiastics banished from Ireland by Cromwell, would exceed my limits, and wear out the patience of my readers;" and the Archives of Paris yet preserve many records of the untir-

ing efforts of the Saint to provide a home and a refuge for the multitude of our countrymen who, despoiled of all they possessed, and exiles from the land of their birth, were cast upon the shores of France. The Bishop of Waterford, who had been an eye-witness, gave an account to Clement XI. of the assistance in money, and ornaments, and clothing, sent by the saint to the suffering Catholics in Ireland, declaring, at the same time, that as St. Patrick and St. Malachy in earlier ages, so Father Vincent was raised up by God in this period of persecution, to be the salvation of our country.

6. It was in 1646 that the first missionary fathers landed in Ireland; and during the five years that they remained, Limerick was the chief scene of their labours. The happy fruits of their zeal were soon visible to all; and it is recorded, as a striking fact, that none of the clergy of any mission which they visited, were found to abandon their spiritual charges: "All remained with the flocks entrusted to them, assisting and defending them until they were banished, or suffered death for the Catholic faith; and, in effect, it was granted to all to endure one or the other."*

A fact, incidentally mentioned in the Life of St. Vincent, speaks volumes for the persecution

* See Abelly's "Vie de St. Vincent," lib. iv., chap. 8. "tous demeurèrent constamment pour les assister et défendre jusqu'à ce qu'ils furent mis à mort, ou bannis pour la confession de la foi Catholique," &c.

to which our clergy were then exposed: "It happened," says the author of his life, "that one of these heroic pastors having gone to a missionary father (who lived in a cabin at the foot of a mountain) to make his annual retreat, was, on the following night, discovered in the act of administering the sacrament to some sick persons, and was cut to pieces on the spot by the heretical soldiery. His glorious death," adds the same writer, "crowned his innocent life, and fulfilled the great desire he had to suffer for our Lord, as he himself had declared in the preceding year at a mission given by the Vincentian Fathers in Limerick."

7. As early as the 16th of August, 1648, the Archbishop of Cashel wrote to St. Vincent that, through the zeal of his good fathers, "the people had been excited to piety, which was increasing every day; and although these admirable priests have suffered inconveniences of every sort since their arrival in this country, they, nevertheless, have not ceased for an instant to apply themselves to their spiritual mission, and, blessed by heavenly grace, they have gloriously propagated and increased the worship and glory of God." At the same time the Bishop of Limerick wrote that, "by the example and edifying deportment of these fathers, the greater part of the nobility of both sexes had become models of piety and virtue. It is true that the troubles and the wars of this kingdom have been a great obstacle to

their functions; nevertheless, the truths of faith have been so engraved by their means upon the minds of the inhabitants of both the cities and the country parts, that they bless God in their adversities equally as in prosperity."

8. When the storm raged with all its fury in 1651, only three priests of the order remained in Ireland, but their labours were incessant, and an abundant spiritual harvest was their reward. At that time there were 20,000 communicants within the walls of Limerick; "the whole city assumed the garb of penance to draw down the blessings and the graces of Heaven. To this the magistrates contributed not a little; for besides the good example which they gave by their assiduous attendance at the exercises of the mission, they employed their authority to root out vice and to banish scandals and public disorders. Amongst other things they established laws, and ordained certain punishments against cursing and swearing, so that these detestable vices were almost entirely banished from the city and the neighbourhood, and Almighty God Himself seemed to authorize these wise proceedings by the most manifest chastisements which came on the transgressors of such holy ordinances.* In April, 1650, St. Vincent wrote to the superior of the order encouraging them to meet courageously the

* See Abelly. Ibid., p. 212.

dangers which then threatened them. In his letter he says:—

“You have given yourselves to God, to remain immoveably in the country where you now are in the midst of perils, choosing rather to expose yourselves to death than to be found wanting in charity to your neighbour. . . . You have acted as true children of our most adorable Father, to whom I return infinite thanks for having produced in you that sovereign charity which is the perfection of all virtues. I pray Him to fill you with it to the end, that exercising it in all cases and everywhere, you may pour it forth into the breasts of those who want it. Seeing that your companions are in the same disposition of remaining, whatever may be the danger from war and pestilence, we are of opinion that they should be allowed to stay. How do we know what God intends in their regard? Certainly He does not bestow on them so holy a resolution in vain. My God, how inscrutable are thy judgments! Behold, at the close of one of the most fruitful missions we have ever as yet witnessed, and perhaps, too, one of the most necessary, thou dost stop, as it were, the course of thy mercies upon this penitent city, and dost lay thy hand still more heavily upon her, adding to the misfortune of war the scourge of pestilence; but all this is done in order to gather in the harvest of the elect, and to collect the good grain into thy eternal granary. We adore thy ways, O Lord!”*

9. Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, writing about the same time to the holy founder of the congregation, details some particulars of the missionary labours of these good fathers:—

“I have often, in my letters to your reverence, given

* Abelly. Ibid., page 215—216.

you an account of your missionaries in this kingdom; to speak the truth, never in the memory of man was so great progress in the Catholic religion heard of as we have witnessed within the few last years, owing to their piety and assiduity. . . . The whole city seems to have changed its face, being compelled to have recourse to penance by the war, the famine, the pestilence, and the great dangers impending on every side, which we receive as manifest signs of the anger of God. The Divine Goodness has been pleased to do us this favour, although we are but useless servants, and God has been pleased to make use of the weak things of this world to confound the mighty. Even the persons of highest quality in the city attend so assiduously to the sermons, the catechetical instructions, and all the other exercises of the mission, that the cathedral is scarcely large enough to contain all. We know of no better way to appease the anger of God than by destroying the sins which are the root and cause of all these evils. Verily it is all over with us if God does not stretch out to us a helping hand. To Him it belongs to have mercy and to pardon. . . . I know not, under heaven, a mission more fruitful than that of Ireland, for although we should have a hundred missionaries, the harvest of souls would be still exceedingly great, and the labourers too few."

10. Well did this worthy bishop declare that no human aid could now avert the impending ruin. In a few months the plague alone numbered eight thousand victims within the walls of Limerick, and amongst them was "the brother of the bishop, who chose to expose his life going with the missionary fathers to visit the sick and console them, and relieve their wants. It was wonderful to behold the poor people supporting this plague, not only with patience, but even

with peace and tranquillity, declaring that they died happy because they had been relieved of the burden of their sins in the tribunal of penance; others said that they lamented not their death, since it had pleased God to send them the holy fathers (thus they styled the missionaries), to purify their souls. . . . The bishop beholding all this, could not refrain from crying out—“Although Mr. Vincent never did anything else for the glory of God than the good he has done for these poor people, he ought to esteem himself a happy man.”

At length the last bulwark of Ireland was compelled to submit* to the army of the Parliament. Conditions, indeed, were granted; but, with the Puritans, conditions were only made in order to be violated, and no sooner were they admitted within the walls, “than they cruelly massacred many of the inhabitants on account of the Catho-

* Amongst the Wadding Papers, Rome, is the following list of the war material found by Ireton in Limerick, on 31st October, 1651:—“Barrells of powder, 83; barrells of mixed shot, 23; match, three tun and a-half; powder and fixable muskets, 1165; broken muskets and musket barrels, 1610; fowling-pieces, firelocks, and carbines, 215; pikes, 512; half-pikes, 30; halberts, 93; brown-bills, 27; pistols, most unfixed, 109; colours of bandeliers, 246; old swords, 140; old saddles, 72; (*brass*) demy-cannon, 2; demy-culverin, 1; saker, 2; faulknet, 2; small-drake, 1; (*iron*), culverin, 1; saker, 2; mention, 7; falken, 2; faulknet, 3.” This was the whole military store of the Irish garrison!

lic faith which they professed.* A few instances will, perhaps, best illustrate the fury with which the Puritans raged against the Catholics of this ancient city.

11. Mr. Thomas Stritch, on terminating his spiritual retreat, had been elected mayor, and he ever proved himself an unflinching defender of his country's cause:—

“ On receiving the keys of the city, he laid them before the statue of the most holy Virgin, praying her to receive the city under her protection, whilst, at the same time, as an act of homage, all the public guilds marched in procession to the church; he then made a most Christian address to the whole assembly, encouraging them to an inviolable attachment to God, to the Church, and to the king, offering to lay down his own life in so just a cause. God was pleased to accept his offering, and on the city being taken, he† received the martyr's crown,

* Abelly *Lor. cit.*, p. 218.

† We wish to present to the reader the following extract of a letter written in 1653, by Father Barry, to Gerald O'Brien, in Rome, which gives some interesting particulars connected with this illustrious family:—

“ The news I hear from Ireland are that there is no hope of accommodation or liberty of conscience for the poor Catholics of Ireland there. Those of the Irish army who forced us to render the city of Limerick unto the enemies, upon so base conditions, were hanged at Cork, videlicet, Col. Ed. Fenell and Lieut.-Coll. William Burke of Brittas. All the clergy were banished except very few; as I am informed, there is the matter of three score of these exiled priests for the present at Nantes: little James Stritch wrote unto me from St. Malo's; he tells me his mother, great mother, brethren, sisters, and

together with three other persons, who having been his companions in his spiritual retreat, were likewise partakers of his reward. They all four marched along not only with firmness, but even with joy, and before execution they severally addressed the bystanders, moving the very heretics to tears, and declaring before heaven and earth that they laid down their lives for the confession and defence of the Catholic faith. Their heroic example greatly encouraged the other Catholics to preserve their faith, and to suffer all extremities of persecution rather than be wanting in the fidelity which they owe to God.”*

Father Anthony Broudin, in his “*Descriptio Regni Hiberniæ*,” adds other instances:—

“The most illustrious Sir Patrick Purcell, Vice-General of all Munster, a noble-hearted and most accomplished warrior (for in Germany, under Ferdinand III., he acquired an immortal renown, combating against Sweden and France), after the taking of Limerick, was hanged, then his head was cut off, and exposed on a stake over the southern gate, called St. John's Gate, A.D. 1651. The illustrious and most noble Sir Geoffrey Barron, a sincere Catholic, of the highest fidelity, and

uncles remaineth in a little island upon the river of Limerick called Augnish. His uncle Patrick Stritch died four days after his arrival at St. Malo's. You have been informed, I believe, of your cousin James Creagh Fitz Andrew's death, and his daughter's marriage. I would wish you had there one of Thomas Stritch's children, to be presented unto some cardinal.”

The “little James Stritch,” of whom mention is here made, was soon after (in 1660) received as student into the Irish College, Rome, and, towards the close of the century, we again meet with him as Bishop of Emly.

* Abelly, loc. cit., pp. 218-9.

of singular eloquence, who had been deputed by the confederate Catholics of Ireland, as their envoy, to his most Christian Majesty, was hanged at the same time, and beheaded and quartered. The noble Dominick Fanning, too, ex-mayor of Limerick, and alderman, a man well known, and of the highest integrity, who had rendered many services to the confederated Catholics, and had in his public offices conferred much benefit on the whole kingdom as well as on the city, was in like manner executed at the same place, and happily exchanged life for death, on the same day and at the same place, and by the same martyrdom. Father Laurence Wallis, a priest, also passed to a more blissful life; and with him, Daniel O'Higgin, a medical doctor, a wise and pious man, was led to the scaffold."*

12. It would be easy to multiply these extracts, but suffice it to say that the city was laid desolate, and that those who escaped the sword were despoiled of all they possessed, and then driven from its walls. We shall conclude this article with the words of St. Vincent, who, having been informed by the superior of the order in Ireland of the number of those who had suffered death for the faith in Limerick, cried out: "The blood of these martyrs will not be forgotten before God, and sooner or later will produce an abundant harvest of Catholicity."—(Abelly, loc. cit., page 220.) And this prophecy is wonderfully fulfilled

* Broudin, cap. 8, all the facts here commemorated are also cited by Morison, in his *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, (Enoponti, 1659, the writer of which styles himself, "an eye-witness to the unheard-of cruelty to which the Irish were subjected.")

in our days, when our holy religion is producing such admirable fruits in Limerick and in every part of the kingdom, and restoring, even in the midst of poverty, its former splendour and glory. In the last two centuries, as well as in the early ages of the Church, the truth of the maxim of Tertullian has been fully confirmed, "The blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians."

CHAPTER IX.

SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS IN GALWAY.

1. HISTORY OF PERSECUTION IN GALWAY; FROM LIFE OF DR. KIRWAN OF KILLALA.—2. GALWAY TAKEN AFTER A LONG SIEGE.—3. DR. KIRWAN'S SUFFERINGS IN HIS PLACE OF REFUGE.—4. HE ENTERS GALWAY; MILITARY EXACTIONS.—5. PLUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF MARTIN KIRWAN.—6. DR. KIRWAN ARRESTED AND SENT INTO EXILE WITH OTHER ECCLESIASTICS.—7. DR. FALLON, V.G. OF ACHONRY.—8. VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY OF THE TROOPS.

1. To review in detail the sufferings of the other cities of Ireland, would be to repeat the scenes which we have already described. There is, however, something peculiar in the rigour displayed by the Puritans in the capital of the western province that claims a special attention. Our chief guide in this article will be "the Life of Dr. Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, writ-

ten by his friend, Dr. John Lynch, and published at St. Malo's, in 1669.*

2. The city of Galway was remarkable amongst the other cities of Ireland for the wealth of its inhabitants, and the beauty of its edifices. The walls were of green marble, flanked by numerous towers; the waters of Lough Corrib flowed through its centre, whilst the regularity of its streets, the fair proportions of its buildings, its noble squares, and its palaces built of native marble, gladdened the eye. All this was soon to become a prey to the ruthless enemy. It was in the month of June, 1651, that the Puritan army marched into Connaught, laying waste the whole province with fire and sword, and on the 8th of July they encamped before the walls of Galway. The city had already been decimated by the pestilence, yet it was only after nine months' combat that the enemy entered within the walls.

3. Dr. Francis Kirwan was at this time lying hid in a country house, at a short distance from the city. For eight months he continued there in a small, narrow room, which, besides two beds for himself and his chaplain, was barely able to contain a chest. This served for an altar; and whilst the Holy Sacrifice was offered up each day, one bed had to be removed to afford standing room for the celebrant. The intense cold of

* See reprint and translation of this work, by Rev. C. P. Meehan, Dublin, 1848.

winter was endured without a fire, and during the whole eight months only thrice did the bishop go for an instant from this hiding-place; on one occasion he was carried out wrapped in a sheet, whilst the enemy were engaged in searching every corner of the house for arms, and when met by the soldiers he was recognized only as a feeble and worn-down old man; and well does his biographer compare his many sufferings at this period to those of the early pastors of the Catholic Church.

4. Within the city the soldiery displayed a *rabid detestation* of the Catholic priests, and with an insatiate avarice plundered the Catholic citizens of all they possessed. When the bishop deemed it more secure to enter the town, "he was obliged to take refuge in the topmost stories of the house aneath the tiles, and this, too, at mid-winter, without one spark of fire. Sometimes, too, he was forced to go out on the roof, and when the pursuers approached, to descend into a neighbouring house by the dormant-window" (page 123). We must allow this contemporary writer to depict some of the frightful scenes of persecution to which the citizens were at the same time subjected:—

"Along with the three scourges of God, famine, plague, and war, there was another which some called the fourth scourge, to wit, the weekly exaction of the soldier's pay, which was extorted with incredible atrocity each Saturday, bugles sounding and drums beating. On these occasions the soldiers entered the various

houses, and pointing their muskets to the breasts of men and women, threatened them with instant death if the sum demanded was not instantly given. Should it have so happened that the continual payment of these pensions had exhausted the means of the people, bed, bedding, sheets, tablecloths, dishes, and every description of furniture, nay, the very garments of the women, torn off their persons, were carried to the market-place and sold for a small sum, so much so, that each recurring Saturday bore a resemblance to the day of judgment, and the clangor of the trumpet smote the people with terror almost equal to that of doom's day."—(Page 123.)

5. The scene of plunder in the house of Mr. Martin Kirwan, which he next describes, is only an instance of the fearful course which was pursued by *these harpies*,* when the country was parcelled out to their devastating fury :—

"In the house they found only young children and servants, together with the mother who superintended their education, for the father and his son were in prison. Having ransacked the whole house, the soldiers entered an inner room, where they saw some glittering rays of light, and in this recess they discovered a wooden tabernacle, ornamented with gilded mouldings, and wooden candlesticks, likewise gilt, which the bishop was about to place in some church ; all these sacred objects did the soldiers drag out of the house, nor could they be induced, by supplication or money, to restore them ; they subsequently tore them all to pieces, and scattered many relics that had been deposited in the tabernacle."

6. When at length the good bishop, finding it impossible to remain any longer concealed, sur

* This is the designation given them by the contemporary author.

rendered to the government, he and several other ecclesiastics were treated as galley-slaves; they were marched along in bodies surrounded by soldiers, drums beating and bugles sounding, and when, by the diligence of priest-catchers, many other ecclesiastics were cast into prison, they were locked up in houses hired for the occasion, and for which the prisoners themselves had to pay. During his imprisonment the holy man found occasion frequently to celebrate the sacred mysteries, and at a window in the rear of the prison administered to the children the sacrament of confirmation.* No sooner was it discovered by the government that the bishop and his companions were thus engaged in conferring spiritual blessings on the Catholics, than their banishment was resolved on; the confessors of Christ "were suddenly carried off to a ship, and on their way were surrounded by a terrible escort, nor had they any previous notice of the decree of banishment, lest their friends might succour them with some viaticum."—(Page 129.)

In *Cambrensis Eversus* we find some further details of the calamities that fell on the citizens of Galway:—

"Galway was the last of all the towns in England, Scotland, and Ireland that remained faithful to the king; but it, too, fell at last into the hands of the enemy. . . .

* Ibid., page 127.

The commander of the besieging army was not a man of ordinary rank, but Charles Coote himself, commander of Connaught and Ulster, which provinces he had subjugated for the parliamentarians. From him the besieged extorted honourable conditions, . . . but the men appointed to the chief government of Ireland by the parliament refused to ratify these conditions. In a short time they commenced to rob the citizens of their property. They were allowed to remain within their native walls only so long as they had money to support the common soldiers and to glut the avarice of their officers ; but when the daily contributions levied on the city had by degrees exhausted its wealth, they were deprived of the magisterial offices three years after the capitulation ; then, as each roll of citizens was drained of all its property by these taxes, they were cast out of the city, but the more wealthy were allowed to remain so long as they had any money, until at last nearly all were cast out and compelled to wander through the country, endeavouring to support themselves by agriculture, of which they knew nothing."—(Vol. iii. p. 189.)

7. Throughout the whole province of Connaught the persecution raged with the same fury. Thus, when Dr. James Fallon, who governed the diocese of Achonry as vicar-apostolic, "was arrested in Iar-Connaught, the heretics so plundered him of his copious collections of books, that not even a breviary was left with him. Before he was made prisoner, he for a long time was exposed, day and night, to the inclemency of the winter, till he at length erected a small hut at the base of a rock, which he covered with leafy branches ; here he remained till the goats, brousing on the foliage, stripped the branches,

and then he was obliged to seek elsewhere a place of refuge." (Ibid., page 15.)

8. All that we have said in this article is thus compendiated by Mr. Prendergast: "The town of Galway, the last fortress of the Irish, surrendered to Ludlow on the 20th of March, 1652, on articles securing the inhabitants their residence within the town, and the enjoyment of their houses and estates. The taxation was soon so great, that many of the townspeople quitted their habitations and removed their cattle, unable to endure it. Consequently the contribution fell the heavier on the remaining inhabitants. This tax was collected from them every Saturday by sound of trumpet, and if not instantly paid the soldiery rushed into the house and seized what they could lay hands on. The sound of this trumpet every returning Saturday shook their souls with terror, like the trumpet of the day of judgment. On the 15th of March, 1653, the Commissioners for Ireland remarking upon the disaffection thus exhibited, confiscated the houses of those that had deserted the town. Those that fled were wise in time. On 23rd July, 1655, all the Irish were directed to quit the town by the 1st of November following, the owners of houses, however, to receive compensation at eight years' purchase; in default the soldiers were to drive them out. On 30th October this order was executed. All the inhabitants, except the sick and bedrid, were at once banished to provide

accommodation for such English Protestants whose integrity to the state should entitle them to be trusted in a place of such importance; and Sir Charles Coote, on the 7th November, received the thanks of the government for clearing the town, with a request that he would remove the sick and bedrid as soon as the season might permit, and take care that the houses, while empty, were not spoiled by the soldiery.*

Hardiman, in his "History of Galway, adds some further particulars. "The surrender," he says, "was followed by a famine throughout the country by which multitudes perished. This was again succeeded by a plague which carried off thousands, both in the town and the surrounding districts, so that the severest vengeance of heaven seemed now to have been poured down on the heads of this devoted community. Many, driven to despair by the severities inflicted upon them, instead of avoiding the pestilence, sought refuge in death from their merciless persecutors. This dreadful visitation continued for two years, during which upwards of one-third of the population of the province was swept away, and those who survived were doomed to undergo sufferings to which even death itself was preferable. Colonel Stubbers, who was appointed military governor of the town upon its surrender, under the pretence of taking up vagrants and idle persons,

* *Settlement, &c.*, p. 146.

made frequent nightly excursions, with armed troops, into the country, and seized upwards of a thousand people, often without discrimination of rank or condition, whom he transported to the West Indies, and there sold as slaves. . . . The most violent acts of oppression and injustice openly took place without any control. The king's arms and every other emblem of royalty were torn down; upwards of fifty of the Catholic clergy were shipped to the islands of Arran and Boffin until they could be transported to the West Indies; and being only allowed twopence a day each for their support, they were nearly famished. The churches and abbeys were converted into stables for the dragoons, the chalices and sacred vessels used as drinking-cups, and the old and valuable libraries of the clergy burnt or sold to the shops. The mayor and aldermen, though expressly protected by the articles, were repeatedly abused and dragged to prison, for daring to remonstrate with the licentious soldiery, who set no bounds to their brutality and violence. The Annals (of the town) relate that their avarice went so far as to break open the tombs and root the dead bodies out of the graves in hopes of finding riches interred with them; and that when disappointed they left the carcases uncovered, so that they were often found mangled and eaten by the dogs. The inhabitants having repeatedly, but in vain, appealed to the governor against these atrocities, at length ventured to

represent their grievances to the commissioners in Dublin; they received, however, such replies as showed they were to expect no relief from that quarter. After several specious and evasive answers, to preserve the appearance of justice, orders of reference were made to the very persons complained of; they were finally informed that the articles of surrender, being still under consideration in England, could not be interfered with; and they were thus dismissed to undergo even worse treatment than before for at all presuming to complain."—(Page 134-5.)

CHAPTER X.

SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS DURING THE PLAGUE.

1. PLAGUE RAGES IN IRELAND.—2. PURITANS ANXIOUS TO BRING ON FAMINE AND PESTILENCE.—3. PESTILENCE COMMENCES IN THE WEST.—4. HEROISM OF FATHER WOOLF OF LIMERICK.—5. OF FATHERS O'CLEARY AND WHITE IN WATERFORD.—6. DESOLATION OF THE COUNTRY DESCRIBED BY AN ENGLISH PRIEST-HUNTER.—7. IRETON'S DEATH FORETOLD BY DR. O'BRIEN, BISHOP OF EMLY.

1. Thus was the whole country subjected to a dire persecution, which surpassed in ferocity the sufferings of any nation recorded in history:—

“Everywhere agriculture and commerce ceased. Each one's thoughts were solely devoted to preserve his life, and to avoid the impending destruction. Hence resulted a dearth of all articles of food, and with famine, a pes-

tilence, too, assailed us. Thus the three scourges of God, of which David had to chose but one, were all at the same time inflicted on us—famine, pestilence, and war. Urged by the famine, numbers fled from all parts of the kingdom to seek shelter in the cities, whilst others, too, fled thither, driven from their estates, or escaping from the sword of the heretical enemy, so that no longer could a place be found for them within the walls, and the outcasts filled the highways and the country around.”* J

So dreadful, indeed, was this scourge, that the learned Dominican father, Dominick de Rosario, cried out—“Oh, look upon us to-day, ye nations. Are we not a spectacle to men and angels? Learn of us what a terrible calamity it is to fall into the hands of the living God, and let him who stands take heed lest he fall.”†

2. It was from the commencement a main object of the Puritans to bring on this famine. Ormond’s letters inform us‡ that “Sir William Parsons advised the governor *to the burning of corn*, and to put man, woman, and child to the sword; and Sir Adam Loftus wrote to the same effect.” It was, indeed, a renewal of the policy pursued at the time of Elizabeth, and which was so strongly recommended by Spencer, “in order that thus,” he said, the Irish “might be driven to devour each other.” That the parliament hoped for this result is clear from the History of

* Missio Soc. Jesu, &c.

† “Hist. of the Geraldines,” page 103.

‡ Vol. ii. page 350.

Lord Clarendon, who records (ii. 323) that, when an armistice was agreed to between Ormond and the Catholic forces, the parliament passed a vote of censure on the commander for betraying, as they said, the interests of the Protestant religion, "since the rebels' were now brought to their last gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine that, like cannibals, they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out."

Hence, it was, that, amongst the military weapons distributed to the soldiers from the store of Waterford, we find not only swords, and pikes, and shot, but also "eighteen dozen of scythes with handles and rings; forty reape-hooks, and whetstones and rubstones proportional,"* which were destined to cut down the growing crop. The Commissioners for Ireland writing to the parliament of England, 1st July, 1651, state that Colonel Hewson had started with his troop for Wicklow, where he "doth now intend to make use of scythes and sickles that were sent over in 1649, with which they intend to cut down the corn growing in those parts."† The result of

* *Order of Council*, ap. Prend., p. 14.

† *Ibid.* Another order of Council, ordered 3rd August, 1652, "that the Governor of Dublin do give warrant to the commissary of the stores in Dublin, to issue the Bibles now in the stores, to the several companies of foot and troop of horse within the said precinct of Dublin:" again on 17th August, 1652: "You are

such a warfare is thus given in the words of various government records by Mr. Prendergast : " To place garrisons near their fastnesses, to lay waste the adjacent country, allowing none to inhabit there on pain of death, was the course taken to subdue the Irish. The consequence was that the country was reduced to a howling wilderness. Three-fourths of the stock of cattle were destroyed. In 1653, cattle had to be imported from Wales into Dublin : it required a license to kill lamb ;* tillage had ceased ; the English themselves were near starving. . . . The revenue from all sources, even in 1654, did not amount to £200,000, whilst the cost of the army exceeded £500,000." Hence the commissioners, in the letter above referred to, describing the general state of the country, say : " the stock of cattle is almost spent ; above four parts in five of the best and most fertile lands in Ireland lie waste and uninhabited."

desired forthwith to deliver out of the stores under your charge one hundred Bibles unto Mr. Robert Clarke to be by him disposed of, for the use of the forces and others, as may be, for the propagation of the Gospel within the precinct of Galway."

* The following order is dated at Dublin, 17th March, 1652: " upon the petitions of Mrs. Alice Bulkely, widow, and consideration had of her old age and weakness of body : it is thought fit and ordered, that she be permitted to kill and dress so much lamb as shall be necessary for her own use and eating, not exceeding three lambs for this whole year," &c.—*Ibid.* pp. 16, 17.

3. The pestilence which resulted from the famine first appeared in the west, and thence soon spread itself through the whole country. The Provost of Galway, writing on the 1st of May, 1650, says—"The pestilence has changed this city into a desert, by the flight of nearly all the inhabitants, and the death of three thousand persons." Another letter, in the following month of June, estimates the total number of deaths in that city, from famine and pestilence, at 3,900.

We have already seen how in Dublin no fewer than 30,000 citizens were mowed down by the same disease. In Limerick, too, it made many victims. "Truly these were disastrous times," cries out Father Dominick de Rosario, "for the sword was ever unsheathed without the walls, whilst death was mowing down his victims within."*

4. The heroism of Father James Woolf, in assisting the sick in Limerick, is especially recorded. He was absent when the city was taken by the enemy; but, "on learning that all the ecclesiastics there had been either expelled or butchered, he contrived to get into the city for the purpose of administering the sacraments to the sick and dying." He was only allowed to continue eight days in this ministry of charity. Being arrested by the heretics, he was led forthwith to execution, and from the scaffold exhorted

* Hist., &c., page 224.

the assembled multitudes to remain steadfast in the faith, addressing to them these memorable words—"We are made a spectacle to God, men, and angels ; but the angels rejoice, whilst men scorn us."*

5. In Waterford the plague also raged with especial violence, and the number of its victims soon swelled to 5,000. We are informed by Father Dominick de Rosario, that as soon as it made its appearance there, "the bishop called his priests together, and exhorted them to strain every nerve in order to console the afflicted. This they did with great assiduity, administering unceasingly the holy sacraments of penance and the Eucharist."† He mentions two as particularly distinguished in this city — Father Michael O'Cleary, prior of the Dominican convent, and Father White, a secular priest. "Three days did they pass in solitude and prayer before entering on that harvest of death ; and when they had received the sacramental confessions of thousands, they themselves died of the infection."

The disease, however, was not confined to any particular district; it spread throughout the whole island, and prepared the way for the triumph of the Puritans. "The success of Cromwell and Ireton, and his followers," writes a contemporary

* See Dom. de Rosario, loc. cit. page 210, and Hüb. Dom. page 568.

† Relatio rerum, &c., an,

author,* “must be ascribed, not so much to their own strength as to the dreadful pestilence that desolated the country. For, the anger of God being kindled against us on account of our sins, his chastening angel so afflicted us with a direful pestilence in almost all the towns and cities of the entire kingdom, that the soldiers and citizens being swept away by it, the enemy often got possession of little more than empty cities or fortifications, so few were those that remained to oppose them.”

6. But we shall allow an English Protestant historian, who was himself employed at this very time in hunting to death the Irish, to describe the frightful miseries which then fell upon our devoted country :—

“About the year 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had so swept away whole counties, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature, either man, beast, or bird; they being either all dead or had quit those desolate places; our soldiers would tell stories of the place where they saw a smoke; it was so rare to see either smoke by day, or fire or candle by night. And when we did meet with two or three poor cabins, none but very aged men with women and children, and those like the prophet might have complained: ‘We are become as a bottle in the smoke; our skin is black like an oven, because of the terrible famine. I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion out of a ditch, black and rotten, and been credibly informed that they digged corpses out of the

* Loc. cit., page 223.

grave to eat.”* And some instances are added too horrible to be here related.

7. Mr. Prendergast also writes :—

“Ireland now lay void as a wilderness. Five-sixths of her people had perished. Women and children were found daily perishing in ditches starved. The bodies of many wandering orphans, whose fathers had embarked for Spain, and whose mothers had died of famine, were preyed upon by wolves. In the years 1652 and 1653 the plague and famine had swept away whole counties, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature. Man, beast, and bird were all dead, or had quit those desolate places.”†

Amongst the victims of the plague was the commander-in-chief of the Puritan forces. On the surrender of Limerick, the heroic bishop of Emly, Albert O'Brien, was, with all other ecclesiastics, excepted from hope of pardon. When brought before Ireton, he fearlessly announced to the tyrant that before many days he himself should answer for his crimes before the tribunal of God. The holy martyr was at once led to the scaffold, but before eight days his prophecy was verified, Ireton being stricken with the plague,

* Colonel Laurence's "Interest of Ireland," Part ii. pp. 86-7.

† *Settlement*, p. 149, he gives in note a declaration of the Council of Ireland, on 12th of May, 1653, in which amongst other things it is stated that "*many times poor children who lost parents, or have been deserted by them, are found exposed to, and some of them fed upon, by ravening wolves and other beasts and birds of prey.*"

and with his last breath exclaiming that that bishop's blood was the cause of his death.* Lest this event should be regarded by the Catholics as a triumph, the English of Limerick, for some years, observed Thursday, the day on which Ireton expired, as a solemn festival.†

* Dom. de Rosario in "Hist.," &c., pp. 204-7.

† Letter of Dr. John O'Molony from Paris, 10th May, 1652, in my possession.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

*Penal Laws enacted against the Irish Catholics—
General State of the Kingdom in 1652.*

1. SAD STATE OF IRELAND IN 1652.—2. ITS SUFFERINGS DEPICTED BY A JESUIT WRITER.—3. DESTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES; THE FRANCISCANS; TESTIMONY OF DOMINICAN CHAPTER.—4. SUFFERINGS OF JESUITS AND CAPUCHINS.—5. OF NUNS.—6. SUFFERINGS OF THE IRISH LIKENED TO THOSE OF THE JEWS, OR THOSE DESCRIBED BY ST. JEROME.

1: OUR country, once the island of saints, was now wholly become a prey to the persecutors. As Judea of old its cities were desolate, its altars were overthrown, everything sacred was trampled on, its priests were led to the scaffold, and the inhabitants that yet survived were subjected to a worse than Assyrian captivity:—

“ Neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharoah, nor the innocents by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, or any other of the pagan tyrants, than

were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at this fatal juncture.*

2. In the history of the Jesuit missions in Ireland, this sad period of our country's suffering is thus depicted :—†

“ The heretical enemy having overcome every obstacle, and obtained possession of the whole kingdom, raged with such fury against all ecclesiastics and everything dedicated to religion, that the Turks or the very demons from hell could not display greater impiety or ferocity. Everywhere the public crosses and other emblems of the Catholic religion were overturned; the altars were destroyed; the chapels profaned, and used as storehouses or stables; the stained glass windows, on which the sacred history of our Saviour's life and the images of saints were represented, were everywhere demolished; the sepulchres and monuments of the dead were broken open and destroyed, that no memory should remain of the Catholic religion; the bells were thrown down and broken; the sacred images and vestments were torn to atoms; the statues of the Blessed Virgin and the saints were dragged through the public streets, with ropes around the neck, besmeared with filth, and hanged from gibbets; the priests and religious were treated with a thousand indignities, cast into prison and butchered; the Catholics were despoiled of their goods, laden with oppressive burdens, and treated as slaves.

“ I could mention a thousand horrible instances of such cruelty; and many, too, were the miraculous interpositions of Providence to avenge this impiety. Frequently were seen in the public squares heaps of Catholic books and sacred ornaments and images to be destroyed by fire; the Catholic citizens were expelled from their

* Morison's *Threnodia*, p. 14.

† *Missio Soc. Jesu. in Hib. usque in an. 1655.*

houses and possessions; and the most noble families were subjected to the lowest and most degrading offices; children and youths were torn from their parents; aged matrons and noble ladies were seized on as servants and employed in the most menial occupations. Truly this persecution of the Catholics was direful, envenomed, cunning, astute; the heretics feigned that they did not persecute individuals, but only the superstitions and abominations of popery (this was their language). However, these things they persecuted in individuals, and individuals suffered death for them.

"There was no restraint on the soldiery when pursuing the Catholics; the persecutors were at the same time accusers, witnesses, and judges; by day and by night they burst into the houses of the Catholics; they broke open rooms and desks and private drawers under the pretence of searching for ecclesiastics, and even when no resistance was offered them, they invented whatever suited their designs, and took away with them whatsoever they pleased. It was a capital crime for any ecclesiastic to enter a city, or town, or garrison, to offer the Holy Sacrifice, or to administer the sacraments; and for doing so many suffered death; the same penalty was incurred by whosoever received a priest into his dwelling. No individual could sleep in any of these places without signing his name and receiving an express permission from the governor; those who came were minutely examined, as to who they were, whence they came, what their business," &c.

3. Some of the religious orders have happily preserved accurate statistics of the sufferings which they endured at this period: the Franciscan order had sixty-two flourishing houses in Ireland in 1641, each having a numerous community, and there were besides, ten convents of

nuns of the order of St. Clare. In 1656, not one of all these remained; and an official record, drawn up in 1662, gives the names of thirty Franciscans who, during the Puritan persecution, suffered death for the faith.* The acts of the General Chapter of the Dominican Order, held in Rome in 1656, also commemorate the glory which redounded to the Irish province from the heroism of the Fathers:—"An abundant harvest of those who, in our Irish province, have

* This important record is preserved among the Wadding Papers, at St. Isidore's, Rome, and is dated 16th July, 1662: "*Nomina religiosorum O.S.F. qui ab ultima regni Hiberniæ commotione passi sunt ob odium fidei et religionis:—R. A. Pr. Franciscus Matthæus, Provinciæ Pr.; fr. Eugenius Colin, laicus; Pr. Richardus Butler; fr. Jacobus Saul, laicus; R. A. D. Thomas O'Morisa, tertiarius; Pr. Joannes O'Kearney; Pr. Richardus Sinott; Pr. Joannes Esmonde; Pr. Paulus Sinott; Pr. Haymondus Stafford; Pr. Petrus Stafford; fr. Didacus Chivers; fr. Jacobus Rochford; Pr. Eugenius O'Cahan; Pr. Antonius Ferrallus; Pr. Gabriel Hiequaens; fr. Thadeus Becan laicus; fr. Guillelmus (name illegible); Pr. Joannes Daton; Rev. adm. P. fr. Franciscus Sullevanus cum esset in actuali ministerio Provincialatus; Revmus D. Boetius Eganus, Epus. Rossensis, olim Definitor Gen; fr. Nicolaus Wogan; Pr. Olanus Conrius; Pr. Benedictus Luchranus; Pr. Marianus Vardæus initio hujus belli a piratis suspensus ex malo navis; Pr. Christoph. Ultanus die qua morti adjudicatus erat in carcere mortuus; Pr. Joannes Dormer; Pr. Joan. Donagh; Pr. Franciscus Geraldinus, postremi tres in vinculis obierunt; Pr. Hugo Mageoin squalore carceris quæmvis libertati restitutus obiit.*"

suffered cruel torments for the Catholic faith, has been gathered, in these our days, into the celestial granary; since, of forty-three convents, which the order possessed in that island, not a single one survives to-day, which the fury of the heretical persecutor hath not either burned or levelled to the ground, or diverted to profane uses. In these religious establishments there were counted about six hundred, of which but the fourth part is now in the land of the living, and even that number is dispersed in exile; the remainder died martyrs at home, or were cruelly transported to the island of Barbadoes.*

4. The sufferings of the Jesuits were not less severe. Before the Puritan invasion they were eighty in number, fifty-six of whom were priests, they possessed six colleges, eight residences, besides many oratories and schools; but in the universal desolation only seventeen fathers remained, and they, too, lost everything, not even retaining an image or a book, or the breviary itself; and when the Holy Sacrifice was to be offered up, it was only in some cave or granary,

* See De Burgo, "Hib. Dom." p. 525. A letter presented to the Sac. Cong. on the 4th June, 1657, says: "Più di 30 Domenicani sono stati fatti morire in Irlanda dal 1641, in quà, molti altri relegati nelle isole Barbadoes, e piu di 500 con publico editto esiliati, vanno dispersi per il mondo, ma con il medesimo desiderio di esporre la vita per quella misera patria."—MS. in my possession.

or other obscure corner, and anticipating the morning aurora, the doors and windows being closed, and few being admitted. The fathers being dispersed and scattered, sought a refuge in various places; some in the towns and huts of the poor, others in the mountains and woods, with difficulty dragging along a miserable existence, that they might assist and console the Catholic outcasts: some there were who, in the disguise of rustics or mendicants, visited the cities and towns, and now in one house, now in another, offered the Holy Sacrifice, and administered the Sacraments.*

From a petition presented to the Sacred Congregation in 1654, we learn that all the Capuchins

* *Vide* "Missio, &c., citat." Another paper, entitled '*Status Societatis in Hibernia nuperi belli tempore*,' adds the following particulars: "Patres summo cum fructu et satisfactione tenebant scholas Dublinii, Pontani, Kilkenniae, Rosponi, Wexfordiae, Waterfordiae, Clonmeliae, Casselliae, Corcagiae, Limerici, Galviae. Ab initio belli cessarunt scholae ad tempus Dublinii: semper Pontanae et Corcagiae quod civitates illas occuparent haeretici et Catholicos ibi crudelius opprimerent: in aliis civitatibus floruerunt liberius; praeterea Athloniae novae sunt apertae, sed et Kilkenniae et Galviae tradebatur Philosophia. In omnibus hisce civitatibus erant numerosae sodalitates B. Virginis." Even those that were sent into exile continued to labour for our suffering country, and we learn from a letter of Thomas Quin, 24 Feb., 1660, that three Irish Jesuits were then busily engaged at *Solidor*, near St. Malo, teaching the children of the Irish exiles.

were likewise banished, some few alone remaining in the island, who lived "as shepherds or herdsmen, or tillers of the soil."

5. At the same time the convents of the nuns were destroyed, and their inmates, wheresoever they had not consulted for their safety by flight, were treated with inhuman barbarity. De Burgo has preserved the memory of two (page 572¹) who were crowned with a glorious martyrdom. One, almost in her hundredth year, was discovered in her place of concealment, and despoiled of every thing, even of her very garments; the barbarians, moreover, inflicted on her many severe wounds, and she lived only long enough to be borne by her maid to a neighbouring oratory, that she might expire before the altar of our Lady; the other, who was younger in years, fled from the hands of her pursuers, and some days afterwards was found frozen to death in the hollow of a tree, in an adjoining wood, in which she had taken refuge.

6. Dr. John Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, published in 1662, likens the sufferings inflicted on the Irish Catholics by the Puritans to those prepared by Antiochus against the Jews: he also applies to them the words of Tobias (iii. 4)—
"We are delivered to spoil, and to captivity, and death, and are made a fable and a reproach to all nations." And, again, those of St. Jerome: "The bishops are taken prisoners, the priests slain, the churches thrown down, horses stabled

at the altar of Christ, everywhere grief, everywhere lamentation, and death in a thousand shapes." But, he adds, "we have long been familiar with such scenes, and as nail drives nail, our fresh wounds efface the memory of our former ones."—(Vol. i. page 9.)

It would be difficult to find any parallel for all the sufferings which our country thus endured. The writers of this period continually re-echo the passage of the Lamentations:—"The child and the old man lie without on the ground: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword: thou hast slain them in the day of thy wrath: thou hast killed and shown them no pity." The author of *Cambrensis Eversus* just referred to (pp. 21-5), well remarks, that the cruelty of the Puritans combined the malice of all preceding persecutions, and no better parallel can be found for the dread desolation of the whole kingdom, than what we read in Sacred Writ, when the chosen people saw their temple razed, their sanctuary polluted, their cities laid waste, and the people become a bye-word among the nations. To cite any further extracts from the contemporary writers when commemorating this sad scene of universal destruction, would be merely to repeat the same phrases; for, so general was the ruin, that it admitted of but little variety in depicting it. We shall, therefore, conclude this article with the words of Bruodin:—"Ireland being entirely subjugated, and scourged

by God with pestilence, famine, and the sword, the churches were everywhere profaned, the altars overthrown, the sacred images broken to atoms, the crosses trampled under foot, the priests banished or led to the scaffold, . . . and no words can express how many and how great were the evils which the Catholics that survived were compelled to endure.”—(p. 639).

CHAPTER II.

§ 2.—EDICT AGAINST THE CLERGY.

1. FORTY THOUSAND IRISH SOLDIERS LEAVE IRELAND.
- 2. PERSECUTION MORE VIOLENT AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE: SECULAR AND REGULAR CLERGY EXILED OR CONDEMNED TO DEATH.—3. SEVERITY WITH WHICH THIS EDICT IS CARRIED OUT.—4. ZEAL OF CLERGY; MANY DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO THE MISSION.—5. LETTER OF DR. BURGATT, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.—6. SPIES AND INFORMERS; THE SAME PRICE ON THE HEAD OF PRIEST AND WOLF.—7. SEVERAL INSTANCES OF PRIESTS IN PRISON AND EXILE.—8. DR. LYNCH’S ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS.

1. Whilst some Catholic soldiers remained in the island, the Puritan persecutors dare not display the full excess of their fury. Their first care, therefore, was to rid themselves of that check to their ferocity. Every facility was given to the foreign courts to transport the Irish soldiers to their service. “The agent of the

Spanish government (writes a contemporary author in 1654), transferred thousands and thousands of them every month, partly to Spain and partly to Belgium.* Borlase estimates the number of those transported in the year 1654 alone at 27,000; and another historian adds, that altogether no fewer than 40,000 Catholics were thus banished from Ireland to the Continent, to be a standing monument of the persecuting spirit of Puritanism, whilst they, at the same time, filled all Europe with admiration of their valour.†

2. The troops being thus removed, on the 6th of January, 1653, the first edict of persecution was published against the Catholic clergy. By it‡ all ecclesiastics, secular and regular, were commanded, under penalty of treason, to depart from the kingdom within twenty days, and should they return, they incurred the penalties and confiscations specified in the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, that is, they were "to be hanged, cut down while yet alive, beheaded, quartered, embowelled, and burned; the head to be set on a spike, and exposed in the most public place." In addition to

* MS. "Status Rei Cath. in Hibernia hoc anno 1654," in Archiv. Colleg. Hib. Romæ.

† Another contemporary document in my possession states that no less than 20,000 Irish took refuge in the Hebrides and other Scottish islands.

‡ See this edict in full in Dominick de Rosario, pages 227-8, also in De Burgo and others.

this, the new act commanded that every person who, after the twenty days thus specified, should harbour or receive into his house any ecclesiastic, "would incur the confiscation of his property, and be put to death without hope of mercy."

Thus did the persecutors seek to deprive the fold of its pastors; and we cannot but here adopt the words of Dominick de Rosario—"Right well did England know that her triumph would never be secure as long as the ministers of the Catholic religion, who kept watch over the flock, were suffered to live in the land."—(Loc. cit. 229.)

3. An example of the severity with which this edict was carried into execution, is recorded in the narrative of the condition of Ireland in 1654.*

"When this edict was published the superior of the Jesuits was lying sick of fever in the house of a respectable citizen, unable to move in bed, not to say to journey on foot or on horseback; a petition was, therefore, presented to the governor of the city that he might be allowed to remain some few days till his strength should return. But the governor replied that, though the whole body of the Jesuit was dead, and life remained only in one hand or one foot, he must at once quit every inch of Ireland. The sick man was forthwith seized in bed, hurried along for about seventy Irish miles in the midst of a severe winter to a seaport, and there, with two other Jesuits, and forty secular priests, was cast into a vessel bound for Spain."

4. The annual letters of the society of Jesus

* MS. Status rer. Cath., &c., 1654.

(anno 1662), having referred to the just mentioned decree, add :—

“ It is easy to imagine what whirlwinds of dangers then assailed the Catholic community in this island! and yet the assault evinced how little the persecutors gained by that edict, for the more their fury raged against the priests, the more courageous did these become to encounter every danger; and although very many of them in each city of the kingdom were cast into prison, of whom some were hanged on gibbets, some expired, overcome by the sufferings of their filthy dungeons, some were sent into exile to Spain, and others transported as slaves to the Barbadoes, yet those who escaped from the enemy's pursuit were not deterred by such impending dangers from the discharge of their ministry; and others who, scattered through the various academies of Europe, were engaged preparing themselves for the Irish mission, on seeing the harvest now ripe for the sickle, and hoping for more abundant spiritual fruit amidst these temporal disasters, in greater numbers than was known for many years, abandoned their studies and entered on their field of labour.

“ In the meantime the magistrates, lest the edict might fall into oblivion, and in order to strike greater terror into those who might give shelter to the clergy, caused it to be proclaimed anew each year throughout the entire kingdom; whence it happened that the greatest part of the priests, unwilling to create danger for their flocks, lived in caverns, or on the mountains, or through the woods, or in remote hiding-places, and often, too, were obliged to pass the winter without any shelter, concealed amidst the branches of the trees. This deplorable condition of the kingdom fills all the Catholics with terror.”

5. This decree was carried into execution with the greatest rigour, and no mercy was shown to

whosoever was found to violate it. Dr. Burgatt presents us with the following details as to the number of the clergy who were sent into exile, or suffered extreme penalty at this direful period:—

“In the year 1649,” he writes, “there were in Ireland twenty-seven bishops, four of whom were metropolitans. In each cathedral there were dignitaries and canons; each parish had its pastors; there was, moreover, a large number of other priests, and innumerable convents of the regular clergy. But when Cromwell, with exceeding great cruelty, persecuted the clergy, all were scattered. *More than three hundred were put to death by the sword or on the scaffold,** amongst whom were three bishops; more than a thousand were sent into exile, and amongst these all the surviving bishops, with one only exception, the Bishop of Kilmore, who, weighed down by age and infirmities, as he was unfit to discharge the episcopal functions, so too was he unable to seek safety by flight. And thus for some years our island remained deprived of its bishops, a thing never before known during the many centuries since we first received the light of Catholic faith.”†

6. To discover the clergy that remained in the kingdom, spies and informers scoured the country on every side, impelled partly by hatred to religion, partly by the proffered reward. Five pounds was the sum held out by government for

* *Supra trecentos gladio et crucibus extincti, &c.*

† *Brevis Relatio, &c.*, by Dr. William Burgatt, agent of the Irish clergy in Rome, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, presented to the Sacred Congregation, 1667.

the apprehension of a priest* (the same price that was offered for the head of a wolf), together with a third part of the property of the person on whose lands he should be discovered ; moreover, the profession of informer was declared an honourable one, and such persons were, by virtue of the edict, to receive the special favour of the Crown, and to be promoted to offices and dignities, as men *well deserving of the State*.†

The country was at this time greatly infested with wolves. A Major Morgan, member for Wicklow, declared in parliament, in 1657 :— “ We have three beasts to destroy that lay burdens on us. The first is a wolf, on whom we lay five pounds a head if a dog, and ten pounds if a bitch. The second beast is a priest, on whose head we lay ten pounds ; if he be eminent, more. The third beast is a tory‡.” So great was the number of wolves killed in 1655 that in

* A MS. in Archiv. Colleg. Hib. Rom. entitled “ *Missio Hibernica, anno, 1652,*” says : “ *Jam diminuto multis in regni partibus habitantis populi numero, excrecentibusque pro vastitate sylvis exerescere simul ceperunt rabidæ luporum catervæ quæ cum novos colonos infestarent, excitata venatorum industria, propositis præmiis, et promissis argenti libris quinque in singula luporum capita, et simul in opprobrium religionis Catholice eadem summa promissa est cuicumque sacerdotis delatori. Adeoque lupi caput et sacerdotis eodem venale pretio fuit.*”

† Morison, “ *Threnodia,*” page 27.

‡ Ap. *Prendergast*, page 150.

March that year there was due from the precinct of Galway alone £243 for rewards paid on this account. Two years earlier we find lands in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and a great part of the barony of Dunboyne leased by the state, "the rent to be discounted in wolves' heads."*

7. The pursuit of the clergy was not less active than that of the wolves. "Such orders as the following (writes Mr. Prendergast) are abundant:—10th of August, 1657, five pounds on the certificate of Major Thomas Stanley to Thomas Gregson, Evan Powel, and Samuel Ally, being three soldiers of Colonel Abbott's regiment of dragoons, for the arrest of Donogh Hagerty, a popish priest, by them taken, and now secured in the county gaol of Clonmel. To Arthur Spinner, Robert Pierce, and John Bruen, five pounds, for the good service by them performed in apprehending and bringing before the Chief Justice Papys, on the 21st of January last (1657), one Edmund Duin, a popish priest. To Lieutenant Edward Wood, on the certificate of Wm. St. George, Esq., J.P. of the Co. Cavan, dated Nov., 1658, twenty-five pounds for five priests and friars by him apprehended, viz.: Thomas MacKernan, Turlogh O'Gowan, Hugh M'Geown, Turlogh Fitzsymons, who, upon examination, confessed themselves to be both priests and friars. On 13th April, 1657, to

* Ibid. 153.

Serjeant Humphry Gibbs and Corporal Thomas Hill, ten pounds for apprehending two popish priests, viz.: Maurice Prendergast and Edmund Fahy, who were secured in the gaol of Waterford, and, being afterwards arraigned, were both of them adjudged to be and accordingly were transported into foreign parts.* On the 4th of January, 1655, the sum of five pounds for having arrested, on the 27th November preceding, "a priest with his appurtenances in the house of one Owen Byrne, of Cool-ne-Kishin, near Old Leighlin, in the County Carlow, which said priest, together with Byrne, the man of the house, were brought prisoners to Dublin."†

The condition of the priests whilst detained in prison was miserable in the extreme. Of Father Tobin, of Kilkenny, it is recorded that, though in a violent fever he was obliged to sleep on the floor, and his only food was a small quantity of half-boiled beans.‡ It was made a privilege to allow them to transport themselves to foreign parts, as appears from an order of 29th May, 1654: and then the clause was added that each one should provide the five pounds which had been paid for his arrest. Sometimes, too, on account of infirmity or disease they were released from prison: thus, we find Roger Begs, on 4th

* Ibid. pag. 158.

† Ibid. pag. 159.

‡ Lett. in S. C. de Prof. Fid. 14. Martin, 1656.

August, 1654, dismissed from prison "on account of his miserable condition," after nine months imprisonment; but two conditions were added, viz., that within four months he should transport himself out of the country, and, during that interval, "should not exercise any part of his priestly functions." Another priest, named William Shiel, was also dismissed from prison, on account of his "being old, lame, and weak, and not able to travel without crutches;" but two conditions were also added in his release, viz., that he should never exercise his priestly function, and should not move *beyond one mile* from the spot in Connaught which would be assigned to him for residence by the Governor of Athlone.* There is one other petition which merits our attention. On the 8th of January, 1655, Richard and Thomas Tuite, Edmund and George Barnewall, and William Fitzsimons, held the Castle of Baltrasna in the County Meath in defence and rescue of a priest who had repaired thither to say mass. For this they were arrested and their goods seized; and the soldiers claimed the booty on the ground that the castle was defended against them "with arms and ammunition by those who maintained a priest in his idolatrous worship, in opposition to the declaration of the state in that behalf."†

* *Settlement*, page 159.

† *Ibid.* page 160.

Owing to the diligence of the persecutors, the number of the Catholic priests that escaped their search was comparatively few:—"The prisons were everywhere filled with prelates, priests, and religious, some of whom were executed on the scaffold, others were privately butchered, whilst the greater number were sent into exile." Thus writes the superior of the Jesuits in 1652.

Another writer, to whom we have more than once referred, describes the state of Ireland in 1654, and contrasts the comparative ease with which the Catholic clergy had in former years evaded the penal statutes, with the difficulty of remaining concealed amidst the present perils, and adds:—

"Now the whole aspect of the kingdom is changed; difficulties and dangers are met with at every step; no human industry can enable us to avoid them, but all must be left to a watchful Providence. The cities and towns are now wholly occupied by the heretics, and the Catholics are banished from them; the castles and country residences of the gentry are converted into barracks, or, if not, are held by heretical new-comers.

No one is allowed to travel through the country without being examined at every mile by the soldiery; you have to show the letters patent of the magistrate of the district from which you come, and in them your age, stature, beard, colour of hair, condition of life, and many other special characteristics are mentioned, and if you are found wanting in any one of them, you are immediately arrested as a spy or a priest, nor is there any hope of the soldiers' sentence being reversed, for

each soldier has the juridical right by martial law to arrest any person he may suspect, and inflict capital punishment.

“The same martial law authorises them to enter the house of any Catholic, at any hour of the day or night, and explore every corner of it, under the pretence, forsooth, of detecting and arresting priests. And lest any of the soldiery should be enticed by bribes to allow any priest to escape, the English Government offers a larger reward for each discovery than could be hoped for from the oppressed and impoverished Catholics. The soldiers, therefore, partly impelled by hatred for the Catholic religion, and partly urged on by avarice and the hope of lucre, never cease by day or by night to beset the houses of the Catholics, and explore their most secret recesses: moreover, they hire spies, and keep them in various quarters, that they may thus receive information of any rumour that may be heard of the arrival of a priest in the neighbourhood.”*

8. Dr. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, one of those who were thus compelled to seek a home in a foreign land, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, written during his exile, gives a vivid description of the rigour with which this edict was carried into execution:—

“Edicts,” he says, “were issued, commanding all priests to depart from Ireland before a certain day, and prohibiting them, under penalty of death, to remain beyond that time. All who harboured them were to forfeit all their property, to expiate that act of hospitality. As the wolf, in the fable, was ready to make a friendly alliance with the sheep, if they would drive away the dogs, as they could then slaughter the poor

* Status Rei Cath. &c. an. 1654.

flock without resistance ; so these men banished the priests from the Catholics, that the latter, when deprived of their pastors, might fall more easy victims to the proselytising attempts of heretical teachers. Of the priests who did remain in the country after the appointed day, some were executed, others wasted away their life in the tedious and loathsome horrors of a dungeon, others are still barred up in prisons ; some were banished to the remote isle of Inisbofin, and delivered in charge to the garrison, who tortured them with great cruelty ; many were banished to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves, and condemned to work in twisting tobacco, and other slave labours. The magistrates prided themselves on what they considered extraordinary lenity, in allowing a great number of priests to escape from their talons to different Catholic countries of Europe."—Vol. iii., p. 199

CHAPTER III.

§ 3.—OTHER PENAL LAWS.

1.—CONFISCATION OF CATHOLIC PROPERTY. — 2. DR. LYNCH DESCRIBES THE CRUELTY AND PERJURY OF PURITANS.—3. MOCK JUSTICE OF TRIBUNALS.—4. PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS IN DUBLIN; FINES ON ALL WHO DO NOT ATTEND PROTESTANT WORSHIP; ALL CHILDREN OVER FOURTEEN DECLARED PROPERTY OF THE STATE; ANY IRISHMAN TRAVELLING A MILE FROM HIS RESIDENCE LIABLE TO BE KILLED.—3. EFFECTS OF THOSE PERSECUTIONS. — 6. DEGRADED STRANGERS OCCUPYING IRISH SOIL.—7. DETAILED ACCOUNT OF PENAL LAWS BY DR. LYNCH; EDUCATION PROSCRIBED; CHILDREN OF CATHOLICS OBLIGED TO BECOME PROTESTANTS, AND MARRY PROTESTANTS, ETC.; THUS THE IRISH NOBILITY DESTROYED.

1. Further penal enactments against the Catholics were passed in quick succession. One of the first measures was to confiscate the estates of the Catholic gentry. No fewer than five millions of acres were parcelled out amongst the Puritan soldiers and favourites of the Protector; and so complete was the extermination of the natives, that when the government commissioners were distributing some estates in Tipperary, none of the inhabitants could be found to point out the bounds of these estates.*

* Privy Council Book, A. 5, in "Haverty's History of Ireland," page 595.

"Thus," writes Curry, "the sword of extermination passed over the land, and the soldiers sat down to banquet on the hereditary possessions of the natives."*

And Dominick De Rosario cries out :—

"It was not enough for them to torment and slay all of the Irish who fell into their hands; on the contrary, they resolved to proscribe all those who had not been taken in their impious toils; they contemplated the extirpation of the Irish people, in order to secure their triumph and new-fangled religion."†

2. *Cambrensis Eversus* also vividly portrays the enormity of this penal enactment : "Not content," he says, "with driving the priests to exile or death, they turned their fury against all Catholics, and condemned all who would not renounce the Catholic faith, to forfeit two-thirds of all their property. All that the Catholics had suffered before this time was mercy compared with the injuries now poured out on them. In former times the magistrates had, it is true, severely oppressed the Catholics, but they never violated their word, and they often relaxed the rigor of persecution. But the present rulers of Ireland, or rather her persecutors, have blackened the most atrocious cruelty by perjury the most foul—perjury which, worse than any injury, provokes the indignation of man." He then remarks that many had sought, by a speedy submission, to obtain favourable conditions from the Parliamentarians.

* Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland.

† Hist. &c., page 227.

“But experience soon proved that they had been under a most fatal delusion. The character given of the Puritans by King James is perfectly true: *I call the great God to witness, that greater ingratitude or perfidy was never found among mountaineers or border robbers, than among those fanatical rogues.* For, when the Irish were stipulating for themselves, they reserved as much wealth as would barely support their family; and when, in violation of treaty, even this was taken away, they were reduced to the last extremities.”

“In this manner noble princes, whose mansions were ever open to supply the guest and the stranger with all the profuse delicacies of the festive board, were now reduced to the necessity of wandering about to the houses of their former tenants and servants, for as much food as would support life, or to enlist as sailors or marines, or serve under foreign banners far from their native homes, for the scanty pay which was their only support. Our tyrants did not shave, but grub; they left no roots to produce another crop of wool; they did not imitate the prudent hive-keeper, who leaves as much honey in the hive as will support the bee, but takes away all the rest.”—Vol. iii. p. 201.

3. That the persecution might be carried on with some semblance of justice, a new tribunal was instituted, called a high court of justice: in it all the ordinary forms of law were set aside;

and so iniquitous and bloody were the sentences pronounced in these courts, that they were commonly called "Cromwell's slaughter-houses."*

4. The parliament commissioners in Dublin, for their part, were not idle. It was enacted that any one absent from the Protestant parish church on Sunday should incur a fine of thirty pence; and it was made obligatory on the magistrates of Ulster, Meath, Leinster, and Munster, to take away the children of the Catholics and send them to England to be educated Protestants.† All Irish noblemen, whose fathers were not English, were obliged, under pain of death, to wear a distinctive mark on their dress; the Irish of inferior rank were likewise compelled to wear a black round spot on the right cheek, under pain of being branded with a similar mark for the first offence, and of being hanged for the second.‡ No office was to be conferred on an Irishman, if a fit Englishman could be found; if an Englishman were killed, the Irish of his district forfeited their lives; if an Englishman lost

* "The Israelites in Egypt (writes De Burgo) could cry to Pharaoh from their oppression, yet this was not granted to the Irish: if the former were oppressed, they had, however, the flesh-pots and abundance of food; the Irish, whilst enduring a worse than Egyptian slavery, are exterminated by famine and the sword."—Hib. Dom. page 707.

† Act of Parl. 1657. De Burgo, loc. cit. page 707.

‡ Porter, "Compend. Annal.," page 292.

any of his property, the Irish had to compensate his loss threefold. Moreover, all Irish beyond fourteen years of age were declared the property of the republic, to be employed on sea or land; and any Irishman going one mile beyond the district in which his name was registered without a passport, or any one taking part in an assembly of *four persons*, forfeited his life.*

5. The history of the Jesuit mission in Ireland, written in 1662, thus describes the condition to which the country was now reduced:—

“The Catholic nobility and gentry, and the inhabitants of the cities and towns, are deprived of their lands and goods, and partly banished to foreign countries—partly driven to the remote and uncultivated parts of the kingdom; some, too, were sold as slaves for the American islands, and some were privately butchered. . . . Thus, all the Catholics are in exile, and in their stead, in the cities and castles, and towns, and garrisons, none are to be found but parliamentary heretics, for the most part of the lowest class of artizans, and the scum and outcasts of society.† Hence, the ecclesiastics have nowhere a resting-place, and they are forced to fly to the herds of cattle, or to seek a refuge in the barns, or stables, or desert places; sometimes they seek to con-

* See these and other enactments in Porter, *loc. cit.*; also, De Burgo, and Cambren. Evers., vol. i., page 51, not. p. Another Act which, perhaps, even still more reveals the rapacity of the persecutors, commanded all Catholics throughout the kingdom to surrender, on the 24th of February, 1653, all the horses that in any way might be deemed fit for the saddle. See “*Vita Francisci Kirovani, Ep. Alladen.*,” page 119.

† *Viles opifices, populi fæx et quisquilæ.*

ceal themselves by paying for their lodging in the houses of the heretics. As regards the fathers of the society, some dwell in ruined edifices, others sleep by night in the porticoes of the temples, lest they should occasion any danger to the Catholics."

6. Again we read:—

"The heretics being now masters of the kingdom, the clergy is scattered and destroyed, and the Catholic religion is almost extinct.* The nobility, and gentry, and native citizens are despoiled of their goods and properties, and in their place foreign heretics have been imported, the vilest of men, persecutors and capital enemies of the Catholic religion; so that Ireland no longer seems to be Ireland, and there are no longer any persons there to harbour the clergy and religious, but only to pursue them, and lead them to imprisonment, torture, and the scaffold. Such is the sad condition of Ireland under the most cruel tyrant, Oliver Cromwell, the Nero, Domitian, and Julian of our age. . . . Hence, Ireland is in a far worse condition now than it was one hundred years ago, for it is inundated with foreign enemies and heretical persecutors; it is an uncultivated field, overrun with briars—an immense and frightful wilderness—a new and unexplored land, to be once more cultivated and reclaimed."

7. The following still more minute and invaluable narrative of the many penal enactments of this time enforced against the Catholics, is extracted from another contemporary writer:—†

"The Irish nation, besides many other gifts of nature, has two traits especially remarkable and most

* *Deletus et expulsus est clerus; Catholica religio pene extincta.*

† *Relatio rerum quarumdum, &c., anno 1650.*

innate in her, which seem as two talents most liberally bestowed on her by God—namely, constancy in the Catholic religion, and an insatiable thirst for knowledge, in both which qualities I know not if she yields to any other nation. All who are acquainted with the nation know well these her characteristics. The heretics, too, know them by experience; ever since the commencement of the Anglican schism they oppress the Irish with an iron yoke, and renewing the cruelty of the enemies of the Jews towards the shorn Samson, they unceasingly strive, by every art, to destroy in them the eyes of religion and learning; having proscribed the true pastors of souls, they imported mercenary pastors, whose only aim is to plunder, and slaughter, and destroy.

“The Catholic schoolmasters being expelled, now no one can open a school but a heretic, that, forsooth, the poison of Satan may be instilled into the children’s minds.

“All Catholic books are prohibited, and wheresoever they are found, they are destroyed by fire, and in their stead we are inundated with pestiferous books that scatter everywhere the cockle of heresy.

“The use of printing is interdicted to the Irish, lest, forsooth, any book might be circulated that did not come forth from a heretical source.

“Nay more, whilst the Catholic religion yet flourished in the kingdom, the English Parliament decreed that no university should be erected in Ireland, lest, perhaps, the eyes of the people might be opened to see the tyranny of the yoke imposed on them. It is strictly forbidden for an Irishman to send his children for education to foreign parts, excepting to England, where he will be sure to imbibe the asp’s milk.

“The jurisconsults are expelled from the tribunals, nay, the Irish are expelled from every office, unless they attest, by oath, the supremacy of the crown in matters of the Church and religion.

“*The eldest sons of the nobility, when young, are*

handed over to the guardianship of heretics, and these guardians, or rather wolves, devour the innocent lambs, and seize on all their goods and revenues; they consign, moreover, the youths to heretical schools as to so many prisons, where, by daily threats and punishments, they compel them to attend at the Protestant conventicles. They cannot contract marriage except with one destined by these guardians, wherefore it often happens that the most noble youths are bound to receive wives from the very lowest class, and from families that have only just emerged from the scum of society by rapine and fraud, the daughters, to wit, or relatives of the tutors, who, moreover, are always heretics, and deeply imbued with the poison of Calvinism.

"All the Irish are excluded from the viceroyalty of the kingdom; they are even declared incapable of this office by the very fact of being born in Ireland.

"Merchandise and commerce are subjected to so many taxes and restraints, that they are almost wholly taken from the hands of the Irish, and given to strangers.*

"The lands and territories of the gentry, by new interpretations of the law, are extorted from those who possessed them for centuries, and are given to upstart heretics. We ourselves have seen many most respectable men who, were it not for the oppression that prevails, would abound in wealth, but who now are seated in ruined edifices, by an uncheering fireside; and when interrogated as to the reason of their carelessness, they replied that they did not dare to live otherwise, and were they to repair or ornament their houses, the harpies would at once seize on them, and they themselves be

* Dr. French, in "Unkind Deserter," page 186, writes.—"The Catholics of Ireland are excluded from all commerce, which the very Turks do grant to their Christians."

deprived of the little that remained. Hence is the whole nation now reduced to such poverty, that it is no longer reckoned by the foreign countries, and none but poor and outcasts now go forth from that island, whence formerly, as St. Bernard writes, went forth so many swarms of holy men, and countless bands of philosophers, who illumined France, Germany, and Italy, by their learning and the splendour of their virtues."

CHAPTER IV.

§ 4.—PERILS OF THE CLERGY.

1. HEROISM OF THE CLERGY OF DUBLIN; *Note.* MANY PRIESTS EXECUTED.—2. FATHER CAROLAN DIES OF STARVATION; FATHER NETTERVILLE; PRIESTS CARRY HOLY SACRAMENT WITH THEM.—3. LUDLOW'S ACCOUNT OF MASSACRE NEAR CASTLE-BLANEY.—4. EDICT COMPELLING ALL CATHOLICS TO INFORM ON PRIESTS; NUMBER OF PRIESTS IN THE COUNTRY IN 1658.—5. IMPRISONMENT IN THE ISLANDS OF ABBAN AND INISBOFIN.—6. FATHER FINAGHTY.

1. The reader can now easily picture to himself the perils that on every side beset the Irish priesthood. Yet, heedless of danger, many clung to their flocks to break to them the bread of life. History does not afford examples of more heroic fortitude, more fearless courage, more enduring constancy, than that displayed at this period by the Catholic clergy of Ireland. Mr. Dalton in his History of the Archbishops of Dublin, quotes

from a Latin manuscript, written in 1653, the following extract :—*

“ The keen-eyed vigilance of persecution has driven the Catholic laity into the country ; and the priests and monks scarcely presume to sleep even in the houses of their own people ; their life is warfare and earthly martyrdom ; they breathe as if by stealth among the hills or in the woods, and not unfrequently in the abyss of bogs or marshes, which their oppressors cannot penetrate ; yet, hither flock congregations of poor Catholics, whom they refresh with the consolation of the sacraments, direct with the best advice, instruct in constancy of faith, and confirm in the endurance of the cross of the Lord. These things, however, could not be effected without the knowledge of the heretics, who, in a simultaneous impulse, are hurried through the mountains and the woods exploring the retreat of the clergy ; and never was the chase of the wild beast more hot and more bitter than the rush of the priest-destroyers through the woods of Ireland, many of whom deem it the most agreeable recreation to run down to death those beasts of the woods, as they term the Catholic clergy.”†

* Archbishops of Dublin, page 424.

† It is surprising how some writers have been so barefaced as to assert that no priests were executed during this period. Every contemporary document refers to the great number of ecclesiastics who were led to the scaffold. In addition to the many proofs we have already giving in the preceding pages we may cite a “ *Narratio brevis status Regni Hibernici*,” written on the 13th August, 1651, which the writer thus concludes : “ *absoluta hac narratione certo nuncio accepimus sacerdotes quatuor, ex illis saeculares duos, alios duos ex sacra S. Dominici familia religiosos in castro quodam*

2. The narrative of the state of Ireland in 1654,* presents many additional particulars:—

“ We live, for the most part, in the mountains and forests; and often, too, in the midst of bogs to escape the cavalry of the heretics. One priest, advanced in years, Father John Carolan, was so diligently sought for, and so closely watched, being surrounded on all sides, and yet not discovered, that at length he died of starvation. Another, Father Christopher Netterville, like St. Athanasius, for an entire year and more, lay hid in his father’s sepulchre; and even there with difficulty escaping the pursuit of the enemy, he had to fly to a still more incommodious retreat. One was concealed in a deep pit, from which he at intervals went forth on some mission of charity. The heretics having received information as to his hiding-place, rushed to it, and throwing down immense blocks of rock, exulted in his destruction; but Providence watched over the good father, and he was absent, engaged in some pious work of his sacred ministry, when his retreat was thus assailed. As the holy Sacrifice cannot be offered up in these receptacles of beasts rather than of men, all the clergy carry with them a sufficient number of consecrated hosts, that thus they themselves may be comforted by this holy Sacrament, and may be able to administer it to the sick and to others.”†

nuper ab hoste in hac Connaciae provincia capto, in patibulum actos esse et suspensos.”

* Status rei Catholicæ, &c., 1654, in Archiv. Colleg. Hib. de Urbe.

† This statement explains the origin of an old custom in Ireland, and explains why the sacraments were administered in private houses. Happily the liberty now enjoyed frees us from the necessity of maintaining such practices.

3. Every art of the most refined cruelty was deemed lawful when pursuing to death these doomed victims, the Catholic clergy; and many are the instances which have been handed down to us of priests who were dragged from their hidden recesses, and subjected to the most brutal excesses. One scene, recorded by Ludlow in his memoirs (vol. 1, page 422, edition Vevay, 1698), sufficiently illustrates the rage of the persecutors. When marching from Dundalk to Castleblaney, and passing by a deep cave, he discovered that some Irish were concealed therein. Two days were spent by his party in endeavouring to smother the fugitives by smoke. At the close of the first day, thinking that all should be dead, some of them entered the mouth of the cave, but as they advanced, the foremost was wounded by a pistol-shot fired from within. It appears that the inmates preserved themselves from suffocation by holding their faces close to the surface of some running water in the cavern; and one, who was placed at the entrance as guard, took his post near a crevice through which the air was admitted. On the next day all the crevices were stopped, the fires were kindled anew, and, as Ludlow expresses it, "another smother was made." The soldiers then entered with helmets and breastplates: they found the only armed man dead inside the entrance, but they did not enjoy the brutal gratification of finding the others suffocated, for they still preserved life at the little

brook. A crucifix, chalice, and sacred vestments were found in the cave, and fifteen of the surviving fugitives were at once massacred by the soldiery; one of the victims is supposed to have been a Catholic priest; it is evident they had assembled to assist at the holy Sacrifice, and it became their happy privilege, by martyrdom, to pass from the temporary altar to the presence of the Lamb in his unveiled splendours in Heaven.

4. Wholly peculiar to this Puritan persecution was the edict published at the same time, commanding the Catholics, under the severest penalties, to give information against their loved pastors, should they merely chance to meet with them even in the public streets:—

“If any one shall know where a priest remains concealed in caves, woods, or caverns, or if, by any chance he should meet a priest on the highway, and not immediately take him into custody, and present him before the next magistrate, such person is to be considered a traitor and an enemy to the republic. He is accordingly to be cast into prison, flogged through the public streets, and afterwards have his ears cut off. But should it appear that he kept up any correspondence or friendship with a priest, he is to suffer death.”*

No edicts, however, could sever the bonds that united together the pastors and their flocks. A letter of the Archbishop of Tuam, written from Nantes, in September, 1658, informs us that, even then, whilst the persecution raged with its greatest violence, there were 150 priests in his

* Morison, loc. cit. p. 27.

province, and a like number in the other provinces, "attending to the care of souls, seeking refuge in the forests and in the caverns of the earth." The same illustrious confessor of the faith informs us that the priests lately arrested were not put to death, as formerly, in consequence of the remonstrance of the Catholic princes on the continent, but "they were transported to the island of Inisbofin, in the diocese of Tuam, where they were compelled to subsist on herbs and water."

5. Mr. Prendergast has published some further details connected with this new place of imprisonment. On 27th of Feb., 1657 (he writes), the Commissioners referred to his Excellency to consider where the priests, then in prison in Dublin, should be most safely disposed of, and, in reply, an order was received to transport them "to the isles of Arran, lying out thirty miles in the Atlantic, opposite the entrance of the bay of Galway, and the isle of Inisbofin, off the coast of Connemara." In these storm-beaten islands, they lived during the remaining years of the Commonwealth, and from a Treasury warrant, dated 3rd July, 1657, we learn that *cabbins* were ordered to be built for them on these islands, and that the Governor of Galway, Col. Thomas Sadleir, was commissioned to allow them sixpence *per diem* for their support.*

* *Settlement, &c.*, page 162.

A letter from a priest in Nantes, on 19th October, 1659, also states, that for some time past the Puritans had "resolved to put none of the clergy to death, and instead of sending them into exile, to sentence them to perpetual imprisonment. This was partly because they envied us that incredible joy with which the priests went out to death; and partly because they thus hoped to cut off all chance of return to their flocks, and all possibility of administering spiritual assistance to the Catholics. Hence, out of fifty-two priests who were in custody, thirty-six were lately sent to the islands of *Inisbofin* and *Arran* where there are heretical garrisons, and where they can neither offer up the Holy Sacrifice, nor see the face of a single Catholic, and not even are they allowed to administer to each other the last rites of religion."*

6. One of the priests arrested at this period was Father James Finaghty, vicar-general of the diocese of Elphin, a man much maligned, even in some of our Catholic histories. The short record of his sufferings handed down to us in a narrative of the visitation of that diocese made in 1668, sufficiently proves that if the penalty of death was suspended for awhile, yet no toleration was allowed to the Catholic clergy:—

"Father James Finaghty frequently suffered many tortures and cruel afflictions from the common enemy

* *Ex archiv. Soc. Jes. in Rome.*

for the faith of Christ ; five times was he arrested, and once he was tied to a horse's tail and dragged naked through the streets, then cast into a horrid dungeon ; nevertheless, being again ransomed by a sum of money, he continues to labour untiringly and fearlessly in the vineyard of the Lord.*

CHAPTER V.

TRANSPLANTING TO CONNAUGHT.

1.—THE CRY TO CONNAUGHT OR HELL.—2. LORD CLAREN-
DON DESCRIBES THIS TRANSPLANTING.—3.
WHY CONNAUGHT WAS SELECTED.—4. THE COM-
MISSIONERS CARRY OUT THE TRANSPLANTATION
SCHEME ; EXCEPTION IN FAVOUR OF THOSE WHO
SHOULD RENOUNCE THE CATHOLIC FAITH.—5.
OTHER REGULATIONS.—6. PARTICULAR INSTANCES.
—7. NEW TRIALS IN CONNAUGHT.—8. CATHOLICS
OBLIGED TO RENOUNCE ALL CLAIM TO THEIR
FORMER LANDS ; AND OTHER SEVERITIES.—9.
FAMINE AND PESTILENCE IN CONNAUGHT.—10.
SEVENTY STATIONS OF PURITAN SOLDIERS PREY-
ING ON THE CATHOLICS ; THEIR CONSTANCY.

1. As the sword, and subsequent persecuting edicts, did not succeed in exterminating the Catholic Irish, the ingenuity of the Puritan

* *Relatio visitationis diœc. Elphin. factæ an. 1668*, ab Edmundo Teige, &c., in my possession.

masters was set to work to discover some new means of attaining that end. A spot was chosen, the most desolate and devastated in the whole kingdom, and thither, by public proclamation, all Catholics were commanded to repair. This was, in fact, nothing less than a frightful imprisonment of all the survivors of the nation. To Connaught or the scaffold was the fiendish cry of the persecutors throughout the country; and yet it was not even the province of Connaught, but only the barren portions of it that the bounty of the Puritans set aside for the Irish Catholics. The heretics retained for themselves a breadth of four miles along the shores of the Atlantic, and of two miles along the rich banks of the Shannon. The Irish, moreover, were not allowed to reside in the capital of the province, or in any of the market towns.* Pent up within these precincts, it was expected that the Catholic race would soon become extinct by famine and disease; for, throughout this barren district, the new-comers were friendless and unpitied, without food to eat, or house to afford them a protection; there was no seed to sow, nor cattle to stock the land. It was death for an Irishman to step beyond the limits thus cruelly traced, and any *mere Irishman* found in any other part of the kingdom could be butchered without further inquiry.

* See P. Walsh's Reply to a Person of Quality, &c.

2. We shall allow Lord Clarendon to sketch this refinement of Puritan policy :—

“ They found the utter extermination of the nation which they had intended to be in itself very difficult, and to carry with it somewhat of horror, that made some impression on the stone-hardness of their own hearts. After so many thousands destroyed by the plague, which raged over the kingdom, by fire, sword, and famine, and after so many thousands transported to foreign parts, there remained still such a numerous people, that they knew not how to dispose of; and though they were declared to be all forfeited, and so to have no title to anything, yet they must remain somewhere; they, therefore, found this expedient, which they called an *act of grace*. There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which, by the plague, and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this space they required all the Irish to retire by such a day, under the penalty of death; and who should, after that time, be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, should be killed by any body who saw or met them. The land within the circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was, out of this grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation as were enclosed, in such proportions as might, with great industry, preserve their lives.”—(Clarendon's Life, vol. ii., p. 116.)*

3. Connaught was indeed particularly well adapted for the imprisonment of the surviving Catholics. It is, in fact, a peninsula, surrounded

* See also Scobell's Statut., p. 258. The 1st of May, 1654, was the day fixed, after which any Irishman found in any part of the three provinces of Ireland might be arbitrarily put to death.

all but ten miles by the Shannon and the sea; and the erection of a few forts sufficed to completely cut it off from all communication with the remainder of the island. Connaught was, moreover, the most wasted province of the kingdom. Sir Charles Coote, the younger, disregarding the truce or cessation, made by order of the king with the Irish in 1644, had continued to ravage it with fire and sword. The order was for the flight of the Irish nation thither in winter time, their nobles, their gentry, and their commons, with their wives and little children, their young maidens and old men, their cattle and their household goods. . . . They found the country a waste. The county of Clare was totally ruined and deserted of inhabitants. Out of nine baronies, comprising thirteen hundred ploughlands, not above forty ploughlands at the most, lying in the barony of Bunratty, were inhabited in the month of June, 1653. There was scarce a place to shelter in. The castles were either sleighted by gunpowder, as dangerous to be left in the hands of the Irish, or occupied by the English soldiery, or by the ancient Irish proprietors, who looked upon the transplanters as enemies liable to supplant them, and therefore encouraged their followers to give them a rough reception. Besides this, the Loughrea Commissioners gave some of the earliest transplanters assignments in the barony of Burren, in the county Clare, one of the barrenest, where it was commonly said there

was not wood enough to hang a man, water enough to drown him, or earth enough to bury him."*

4. No sooner had the Leinster army surrendered, on terms signed at Kilkenny, 12th of May, 1652, than the Commissioners proceeded to carry out the plantation scheme. The *Adventurers*, as they were called, having advanced the sum of £360,000 for the extirpation of the Irish race, were ordered to receive in payment the moiety of ten counties in Ireland. The government reserved for its own special favourites, the Regicides, and the most active of the English rebels, all the ecclesiastical lands† and revenues. The remainder of the island was to be set out amongst the officers and soldiers as payment for their arrears, which amounted to £1,550,000, as also in discharge of debts incurred in maintaining the Puritan army, which amounted to £1,750,000. On the 26th of September, 1653, the Act for planting Ireland with English was definitely passed in Parliament, and all the Irish that still remained in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster were commanded to remove

* *Prendergast*, pp. 30 and 47.

† All archbishops, &c., being abolished, an individual named Thomas Hicks was installed in Chichester House on College Green, and authorized by the government "to preach the Gospel at Stillorgan and other places in the barony of Rathdown, as often as the Lord shall enable him," &c.—*Prendergast*, p. 24.

to Connaught at latest by the 1st of May, 1654, "except Irish women married to English Protestants before the 2nd of December, 1650, provided they became Protestants; except also boys under fourteen and girls under twelve in Protestant service, and to be brought up Protestants: and, lastly, those who had shown, during the ten years' war in Ireland, their constant, good affection to the Parliament of England in preference to the king. There they were to dwell, without entering a walled town, or coming within five miles of same on pain of death."* Another exception was also tacitly, at least, made—viz., that such of the common people, who might be required as earth-tillers and herdsmen for the new settlers, might be permitted to remain, for "being deprived of their priests and gentry, and living among the English, it was hoped they would gradually become Protestants."† The officers and soldiers were forbidden to intermarry with any of the Irish, "for the first purpose of the transplantation is to prevent those of natural principles becoming one with these Irish, as well in affinity as in idolatry, as many thousands did who came over in Queen Elizabeth's time."‡

* Ibid., p. 30.

† Morison's "Threnodia," p. 25.

‡ *Mercurius Politicus*, 1653, and *Prendergast*, p. 105. It is singular that many, even of the Cromwellian settlers, soon identified themselves with the Irish. A pamphlet written in 1697 thus laments this degeneracy:

In a subsequent scheme, approved of by the Commissioners, all landlords were obliged to make such Irish servants or tenants as remained with them "to speak English within a limited time, and their children were to be taught no Irish. They were to observe the manners of the English in their habit and deportment. Their children were to be brought up under English Protestant schoolmasters; they were to attend the public preaching of Protestant ministers; they were to abandon their Irish names of *Teigh* and *Dermot*, and for the future were to name their children with English names, especially omitting the *O'* and *Mac*; and lastly, should build their houses with chimneys as English in like capacity do."* An order published on the 21st of May, 1655, again renewed the injunction that all Irish servants and tenants that were permitted to remain should become Protestants in six months, and their children were to

"We cannot so much wonder at the degeneracy of the present English when we consider how many there are of the children of Oliver's soldiers in Ireland who cannot speak one word of English: and, what is strange, the same may be said of some of the children of King William's soldiers, who came but t'other day into the country. This misfortune is owing to the marrying Irish women. 'Tis sure that no Englishman in Ireland knows what his children may be as things are now; they cannot well live in the country without growing Irish."—(Ap. Prenderg., p. 130.)

* Ap. Prendergast, p. 119.

learn the Protestant Catechism in the English tongue.

5. The *transplantation* was carried out with the utmost rigour. One of its regulations commanded each proprietor to bear with him from the local officer to the Commissioners in Connaught, a certificate in which his name, age, stature, &c., should be set forth. Many of these certificates are still preserved, and they prove that none were spared in this cruel scheme. Thus the certificate of Sir Nicholas Comyn of Limerick describes him as "numb at one side of his body of a dead palsy, accompanied only by his lady, Catherine Comyn, aged thirty-five, flaxen-haired, middle stature, and one maid servant, Honor ny M'Namara;" and it adds that they were "without substance," i.e., were deprived of all means of support. Another describes: "Ignatius Stackpoole of Limerick, orphan, aged eleven years, flaxen hair, full face, low stature; and Catherine Stackpoole, orphan, sister to the said Ignatius, aged eight years, flaxen hair, full face; having no substance."* Thus none were spared, and all, no matter how circumstanced, were commanded to hasten to the wilderness marked out for their imprisonment.

Many, however, resolved to risk death rather than accept the Puritan boon of *transplantation*. Hence, the Commissioners of Parliament often

* Prendergast, pp. 32-33.

complain that "the gaols were choked" with the number of those who refuse to transplant, and still the untractable Irish refused to obey their orders. The Irish Catholics, too, in 1660, declare that "pursuant to the said pretended Act (27th Sept., 1653), some were put to death with inscriptions on their breasts and backs, for not transplanting. And, for the more strict and effectual executing of the said pretended Act, it was a frequent practice to make general restraint of all the Irish generally that were found out of the said province of Connaught, which were put in execution at one and the same time through all the other provinces, by troopers and soldiers dragging the poor people out of their beds in the dead time of the night, and bringing them in such troops as there were not gaol room enough to contain them. Therefore, some were put to death, others sold as slaves into America, others detained in prison till they were not able to put bread into their mouths, others sent to Connaught."*

6. Some particular instances that are happily recorded illustrate the manner in which the Irish proprietors were expelled from their hereditary possessions. The Viscount Roche of Fermoy and his daughters were forced to walk on foot to Connaught, to die in a poor cabin there, whilst his lands were divided amongst the troopers

* *Carte MSS.*, vol. vii., p. 6.

of Cromwell. The estate now called Woodland, the seat of Lord Annaly, adjoining the Phoenix Park, Dublin, was formerly known as Luttrellstown, and under the Puritan *regime* passed first into the hands of Lord Broghill, and then to Colonel Hewson, Governor of Dublin, whilst the proprietor, Thomas Luttrell, "got permission, in 1652, to occupy the stables, and to till the land;"* even from this, however, he was now compelled to transplant. Elsewhere we read of the soldiers entering at once into possession, and "proceeding without mercy to turn out the wives and children of the transplanted proprietors, without giving them even a cabin to shelter in."†

7. Even when the sufferers arrived in Connaught, new trials awaited them. The officers there had to be bribed if the poor transplanter had any money left, or by a secret promise of a portion of the lands to be allotted to him.‡ None of the inhabitants of Kerry, Cork, or Limerick were allowed to dwell in Clare, lest they might thence behold their native hills and plains. Inhabitants of the same county or sept were to be dispersed as far as possible in different places. The best portions of the remnant set aside for the Irish nation were again appropriated by some

* Ap. Prendergast, p. 36.

† Ibid., p. 37.

‡ Ibid., p. 67.

new English claimants. Henry Cromwell received Portumna with the 6,000 adjoining acres, and other like grants were made to Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Sadlier, and Major Ormsby.* What wonder, then, concludes Mr. Prendergast, "that the transplanted, who could find means to fly, or were not tied by large families of children, sold their assignments for a mere trifle to the officers of government, and fled in horror and aversion from the scene, and embarked for Spain. Some went mad; others killed themselves; some laid their bones in Connaught, as Lord Trimbleston, on whose gravestone, within the ruins of the Abbey of Kilconnel, that overlook the fatal fields of Aughrim, may be still read the epitaph: 'Here lies Mathew, twelfth Lord Baron of Trimleston, one of the Transplanted.'"

8. The persecutors, however, were not satiated by thus *transplanting* the Irish inhabitants; they, moreover, obliged all, to whom some portions of land were marked out in this barren district, to sign conveyances or releases of their titles to their former properties, that thus they and their heirs might be for ever debarred from their old inheritance.† We also find recorded, that when some of the transplanted Irish erected cabins or creaghts, as the hurdle houses were then called, in the vicinity of Athlone, orders

* Ibid., p. 194.

† Clarendon loc. cit., vol. ii., p. 116.

were sent from Dublin Castle to banish all *the Irish and other popish persons* from that neighbourhood, so that no such gathering should be allowed within five miles of the English garrison.*

9. No pen can describe the frightful scenes of misery that ensued. With famine and pestilence, despair seized upon the afflicted natives; thousands died of starvation and disease; others cast themselves from precipices, whilst the walking spectres that remained seemed to indicate that the whole *plantation* was nothing more than a mighty sepulchre.†

A *Relatio*, drawn up in 1656 by one who had just before escaped to the continent from this terrible scene, declares that:—"The persecution under Elizabeth was never so violent as that which now rages in Ireland; for then only ecclesiastics were persecuted, now even the nobility and females are subject to it. Women may be seen running after their husbands who are sentenced to exile: nay, they plunge into the depths of the sea that thus they may be allowed to share in their banishment: children are seen hurrying after their mothers, and dying in the

* MS. Orders of Council, cit. by Haverty, p. 595.

† See History of the Irish Catholics, by M. O'Connor, p. 87.—"Thousands perished of cold and hunger, many flung themselves headlong from precipices, and into lakes and rivers, death being the last refuge from such direful calamities." Also De Burgo in *Ilib. Dom.*, p. 706.

public streets: whole towns are transported to the Barbadoes: many persons, through sadness and terror, run through the country, insane: houses are seen empty, a prey to any one who may wish to enter them. Virgins are insulted, children are murdered, crowds of the natives are carried off into exile; oh, how sad a spectacle!"*

10. The Puritans, however, were still attentive to extort from the suffering transplanted Catholics whatsoever might, perchance, have yet remained to them. A contemporary writer thus describes these new arts of the Puritan persecutors:—†

"There is one thing that now perplexes us very much, the transplanting of our nation to the province of Connaught. This is a tract of Ireland for the most part rocky and mountainous, and wholly reduced to a wilderness by the constant whirlwind of wars, uninterrupted for so many years. Nowhere throughout all that region, can a house be met with; scarcely is there a particle of a wall left standing, the edifices being destroyed by fire, and levelled to the ground, lest any habitation or defence should remain for the Catholics. Two cities alone remain, and from these the inhabitants are expelled, and they are now filled with English Anabaptists; some of the ports, too, are inhabited by the same pest; the remainder of the province is wholly devastated, and everything levelled to the ground.

"To this desert all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and all that had any land or possessions are now transported; amidst these mountains they receive some small particles of land, for the most part sterile

* Wadding MSS., Rome.

† Status rei Catholicæ, anno 1564.

and rocky. There they must fix their dwellings, and build for themselves, as best they may, or otherwise be exposed to the hoar frost. Nor is the evil confined to this.

“The Catholics thus transplanted, although deprived of nearly all their fortunes and goods, are, nevertheless, obliged to support in this Connaught wilderness seventy stations of Puritan soldiers, which are arranged at stated distances throughout the country, under the pretence, indeed, of their own security, and lest Catholics might plot against the State, and excite fresh disturbances, but in reality that they may keep away all priests, and prevent the exercise of the Catholic religion; and, moreover, that thus any property that still remained amongst the persecuted natives might be wasted away and consumed in supporting such a number of guards, and so the whole nation might become gradually extinct; for they see that no violence or artifice can force them to abandon the Catholic faith.

“Indeed, the magistrates more than once notified to some of the Catholic gentry, whom they were anxious to protect, that all this vexation would cease, should they only consent to renounce the Roman Pontiff, and especially the Mass. They sought also to persuade not a few of the Catholics, that it was folly for them to precipitate themselves into voluntary banishment, which could be prevented by so easy a remedy. But the Catholics closed their ears with the holy fear of God against these siren enchantments, and they chose to suffer even death rather than to tarnish their glory, holding in mind that they are children of saints, and that an inheritance of glory awaits them.”

CHAPTER VI.

PURITAN COLONISTS.

1. IRELAND CONFISCATED.—2. PROTESTANT SETTLERS FROM NEW ENGLAND; VAUDOIS FROM PIEDMONT.—3. THEIR CHARACTER.—4. MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT OF THE SAME.—5. LORD CLARE'S DESCRIPTION.—6. MR. THOMAS WADDING.—7. CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS.

1. Ireland was now, indeed, become the spoil of her merciless heretical enemy. The whole kingdom was ordered to be surveyed, and "the best land was rated at only four shillings per acre, and some only at one penny."* The towns were rated at even a lower price. The whole city of Limerick, with 12,000 acres contiguous, had been offered in the beginning of the war for £30,000, with a small rent to the state. Galway, with 10,000 acres, was offered for £7,500; and Wexford, with 6,000 acres, was only valued at £5,000. The repeated orders which were issued in 1652, 1654, and 1656, to clear all the towns of their Catholic population, rendered

* Morrice, *Life of Orrery*, vol. ii., page 117.

many of them well nigh desolate. In the impeachment of Lord Inchiquin before Parliament, his soldiers are said to have destroyed three thousand houses "void of inhabitants" in the city of Cork, and an equal number in Youghal. "For such a scene of desolation," writes Mr. Prendergast, "as the cities and towns of Ireland presented at this period, recourse must be had to the records of antiquity, and there, in the ruined state of the towns of Sicily, when rescued by Timoleon from the tyranny of the Carthaginians, there is to be found a parallel. Syracuse, when taken, was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. So little frequented was the marketplace that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture on, and for the grooms to lie in by them as they grazed. The other cities were deserts, full of deer and wild boars; and such as had this use for it hunted them in the suburbs round the walls. And such was the case in Ireland. On the 20th of December, 1652, a public hunt, by the assembled inhabitants of the barony of Castleknock was ordered by the state, of the numerous wolves lying in the wood of the ward, only six miles north of Dublin."*

2. To supply inhabitants to the desolate country, Protestant settlers were invited from New England, and liberal offers were likewise made to the Vaudois of Piedmont, should they choose

* *Settlement*, p. 144.

Ireland for an "evangelical colony."* Thus, in 1651, Mr. Harrison, minister of the Gospel in New England, "was affectionately urged to come over to Ireland, which he would find experimentally was a comfortable seed-plot for his labours."† It was hoped that on his return "the hearts of many others would be stirred up" to plant in our island, and the letter of the Commissioners adds: "they should have freedom of (Protestant) worship, and the advantages of convenient lands, fit for husbandry, in healthful air, near to maritime towns or secure places, with such encouragement from the state as should demonstrate that it was their chief care to plant Ireland with a godly generation."‡ In 1655, proposals were made for the planting of the town of Sligo, and the lands thereabouts, with families from New England, and on the 10th of April, that year, "lands on the Mile line, together with the two little islands, called Oyster Island and Coney Island (containing 200 acres), were leased for the use of such English families as should come from New England in America." In 1656 we find some families arriving from America at Limerick, and permission was granted to them to introduce, free of tax, "the tobacco they had brought with them for the use of them-

* Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, page 190; Thurloe, vol. ii., page 459.

† *Settlement*, page 120.

‡ Letter of September 18th, 1651.

selves and families." The lands of Garristown, about fifteen miles to the north of Dublin, were also allotted to such Anglo-Americans as would undertake to colonize our island, and one individual, named John Barker, received thirty acres there on the sole condition that he should dwell on his lot, and not consign it to another.* Even the Dutch and other Protestants had offers made to them; and Samuel Hartlib, dedicating a work on the Natural History of Ireland to Oliver Cromwell, declared that he "looked upon the hopeful appearance of replanting Ireland shortly, not only by the adventurers, but partly by the calling in of exiled Bohemians and other Protestants also, and partly by the invitation of some well-affected out of the Low Countries."† These offers, however, were for the most part made in vain; and so universal was the horror of the brutality displayed by the Puritan officers in Ireland, that none but the very dregs of society could be found, even in England,‡ to seek a share in the spoil.

3. There is a passage in Dominick de Rosario's History of the Geraldines, that details to us the

* Order of Council Chamber, Dublin, 30th July, 1656. *Ib.*, page 121.

† "Ireland's Nat. History," by Boate. 4to. London, 1652.

‡ Many citizens of London, at the time of the great fire, in 1666, looked on it as a chastisement from God for the cruelties exercised against the Irish.

character of the new settlers, and the rapacious spirit with which they rushed to plunder our island of saints:—

“ That raging mass, besprinkled with the monarch’s blood, burst upon the land of my birth. The butcher, the buffoon, and the hired cut-throat, each led his band; and the very dregs of English cities and towns were invested with centurion authority. Then came hideous woes, as though God would lash us with a triple scourge, discord, famine, and pestilence. Well was it for those who died by the plague, for they passed away without dishonour; and happier were they who perished by the edge of the sword, for they thus escaped the lingering pangs of hunger. Cities and towns were seized by those ruthless slayers; the nobility was ruined, the temples of God razed, altars polluted, everything sacred profaned, whole families destroyed, smiling plains reduced to barrenness, and the lowing herds slaughtered to feed an unbridled soldiery. Blessed, then, were they who possessed nothing. But how shall I describe the horrors which those fiends heaped on the heads of the Catholic clergy? In their private houses, in the caverns of the earth, in the recesses of the mountains and woods, naked and unarmed, were they not maimed, stabbed, struck with stones in their very transit to the gibbet? Oh! how many of them breathed out their souls exhorting their countrymen to deeds of heroism, and undying attachment to the Catholic religion!”*

4. Amongst the manuscripts belonging to the King’s Library in the British Museum, there is a work entitled “An Account of Ireland,” written in 1773, which, speaking of the Cromwellian era,

* Loc. cit., page 298.

thus describes well the hordes of sectaries that overspread the three confiscated provinces of Ireland. "An army of new settlers, and mostly of a newer religion, whether Anabaptists, Socinians, Muggletonians, Brownists, or Millenarians, now obtained large grants of forfeited lands in Ireland; and from these adventurers are descended some of the principal persons in the kingdom in opulence and power. Most of these settlers were men of the sourest leaven, who eagerly adopted the most harsh and oppressive measures against those upon whose ruin they rose."*

5. This description of the sectaries of every hue, that divided amongst themselves the possessions of the exterminated or transplanted Irish, is confirmed by Lord Clare, in his celebrated speech on the union:—

"A new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England—Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy—poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants."

6. It cannot be expected that many virtues would be found in the train of these ruthless colonists; on the contrary, they seemed to wage war against every virtue, and to have become the champions

* See "The Irish Church, its History and Statistics," by W. Shee, Sergeant-at-law, &c., 1852, page 9.

of every vice. An eye-witness, Mr. Thomas Wadding, thus writes, on the 21st October, 1656:—"There is no corner of Ireland but is now filled with heresies, and atheism, and iniquity of every sort; never was the Catholic name so persecuted; malice is triumphant, all vices flourish, justice has decayed; true faith, and mercy, and modesty, and sincerity, are banished; violence and audacity everywhere prevail; no one has any property but what he acquired by fraud and violence; the good are exposed to persecution and mockery; the bad alone are prosperous, and abound in wealth. . . . So that we are tempted to cry out—"Oh, God! what an age have you made us spectators of!"*

7. In *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., page 75, we find an additional corroborating testimony to the vile character of the new colonists:—"Nobles of high descent," says that contemporary author, "were robbed of two-thirds of their hereditary estates and ordered to confine themselves within the contracted limits of the remaining third; while the properties wrested from them were assigned to swarms of Englishmen, collected from the barber's shops, and highways, and taverns, and stables, and hog-sties of England."

* *Deus ad quem nos tempora reservasti!* Letter of Thomas Wadding from Nantes, 21 Oct., 1656, to Mgr. Rinuccini; preserved in Barberini Archives.

CHAPTER VII.

IRISH EXPORTED AS SLAVES.

1. IRISH EXPORTED AS SLAVES; SIR WILLIAM PETTY MENTIONS 6,000 SOLD TO UNDERTAKERS IN AMERICAN ISLES; BRUDIN MENTIONS 100,000; *Note.* REV. J. GRACE, IN 1666 FOUND 12,000 IRISH SLAVES IN BARBADOES, ETC.—2. METHOD OF MAKING IRISHMEN CHRISTIANS, *i.e.*, SELLING THEM AS SLAVES.—3. SLAVE TRADE TO BARBADOES LEGALISED—4. SALE OF IRISH NATIVES.—5. PARTICULAR INSTANCES.—6. SEIZURE OF PAUL CASHIN, P.P. OF MARYBOROUGH, AND OTHER PRIESTS.—7. IRISH CHILDREN EXPORTED; ST. CHRISTOPHER'S; IRISH THERE.—8. DR. JAMES LYNCH.—9. IRISH TREATED BARBAROUSLY, ACCORDING TO FATHER GRACE; *Note.* LETTER OF BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF TUAM TO PROPAGANDA.—10. FAITH OF THE IRISH IN THEIR CAPTIVITY.

1. It was not enough to import foreigners of every hue and every denomination into Ireland; the Puritan rulers deemed it further necessary to export, as slaves, to the American islands, as many of the natives as yet survived the miseries and vexations of Connaught. Jamaica and the adjoining islands had lately passed into the hands of England, and slaves were wanting to cultivate the sugar and tobacco plant on their deadly soil. Sir William Petty,* writing in 1672, states that

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, page 187.

six thousand boys and women were thus sold as slaves from Ireland to the undertakers of the American islands. Bruodin estimates the total number of the exiles from Ireland at 100,000; and adds, that of these several thousands were transported to the tobacco islands.* A letter, written in 1656, cited by Dr. Lingard, reckons the number of Catholics thus sent to slavery at 60,000. "The Catholics are sent off in ships-full to the Barbadoes and other American islands. I believe 60,000 have already gone; for the husbands being first sent to Spain and Belgium already, their wives and children are now destined for the Americas."† The Irish historian, M'Geoghegan, also writes that, exclusive of the women and children, "from fourteen to twenty thousand, both soldiers and country-people, were sold as slaves, and transported to America." (p. 577.)

2. This transportation to slavery was even viewed by the Puritan persecutors as a boon they were conferring on the Irish Catholics. When Secretary Thurloe wrote to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to inform him that a stock of Irish was

* Propugnac. page 672, "*Aliquot millia in diversas Americæ tabaccarias insulas relegata sunt.*"

† When the Rev. John Grace visited these islands in 1666, he found that there were as yet no fewer than 12,000 Irish scattered amongst them, and that they were treated as slaves.—(From his letter of 5th of July, 1669.)

required for the peopling of Jamaica,* the Lord Deputy replied:—

“Concerning the supply of young men, although we must use force in taking them up, yet it being so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not the least doubted but that you may have such a number of them as you may think fit to make use of on this account. I shall not need repeat anything regarding the girls, not doubting to answer your expectations to the full in that; and I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there and ours here, if you should think fit to send fifteen hundred or two thousand boys to the place above-mentioned. We can well spare them, and who knows but that it may be the means of making them Englishmen—I mean rather, Christians. As for the girls, I suppose you will make provision of clothes, and other accommodations for them.”†

3. Before entering into particulars connected with this unparalleled slave trade, we may remark that the island of Barbadoes was first seized on by a small band of English adventurers in 1625. The richness of its produce soon attracted a large number of colonists, and its population still more rapidly increased when the Parliament of England, in 1636, passed a law “authorizing the sale of negroes and Indians for life: ten years

* Thurloe's Memoirs, vol. iv.

† Thurloe, loc. cit., page 75. In Porter, “Comp. Annal.,” page 292, we find the following article of the Irish Commissioners: “That Irish women, as being too numerous now, be sold to merchants, and transported to Virginia, New England, Jamaica, or other countries, where they may support themselves by their labour.”

later, so large was the population of the island, that its militia amounted to 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry."* During the closing years of Charles's reign some traders, indeed, had stealthily endeavoured to carry on a slave-trade in Ireland with English undertakers, but, after the triumph of the Puritan armies, the sale of the Irish as slaves was publicly authorized by the government. Hence, the Irish bishops, having assembled at Clonmacnoise on the 4th of December, 1649, published an address to the people of Ireland, warning them against placing any trust in the promises of the Puritans, whose aim, they say, it is "to root out the inhabitants, and plant this land with colonies to be brought hither out of England, as witness the number they have already sent hence for the tobacco islands, and put enemies in their places."†

4. The official documents published by Mr. Prendergast fully reveal to us the barbarous manner in which the natives were thus sold into captivity. "While the government (he thus writes) were employed in clearing the ground for the adventurers and soldiers, they had agents actively employed through Ireland seizing women, orphans, and the destitute, to be transported to Barbadoes and the English plantations in

* *Poyer's "Hist. of Barbadoes,"* in *Quarterly Rev.*, i. 262.

† See *Wadding MSS.*, Rome.

America. Just as the King of Spain sent over his agents to treat with the government for the Irish swordmen, the merchants of Bristol had agents treating with it for men, women, and girls to be sent to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. The Commissioners for Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons to deliver to them prisoners of war; the keepers of gaols for offenders in custody; upon masters of workhouses for the destitute in their care; and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood, and deliver them to these agents of the Bristol sugar merchants, in execution of which latter direction Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts in Africa.”*

A government order, published on 4th March, 1655, states that, in the four preceding years, 6,400 Irish, men and women, boys and maidens, had been disposed of to the English slave dealers. It further details the course pursued by the men-catchers, viz., “to delude poor people into by-places, and thence they forced them on board their ships. The persons employed had so much a piece for all they so deluded; and for the money sake they were found to have enticed and forced women from their children and husbands, and children from their parents.”†

* *Settlement*, page 238.

† *Ibid.*, page 240.

5. A few instances will best illustrate the course thus pursued by the Puritans. On 14th of September, 1653, two English merchants named Selleck and Leader signed a contract with the Government Commissioners, by which a supply was granted to them of 250 women and 300 men "of the Irish nation, to be found within twenty miles of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, Waterford, and Wexford." Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill (afterwards Earl of Orrery), deemed it unnecessary to take such trouble in visiting different parts of the kingdom, and undertook to supply the required number from the county of Cork alone; hence, on 23rd of October, 1653, he received an order empowering him to search for and seize upon that number, "and no person, being once apprehended, was to be released but by special order in writing under the hand of Lord Broghill.*

Again, in January, 1654, the Governors of Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, Ross, and Waterford, had orders to arrest and deliver to three English merchants "all wanderers, men and women, and such other Irish within their precincts as should not prove they had such a settled course of industry as yielded them a means of their own to maintain them, all such children as were in hospitals or workhouses, all prisoners, men and women, to be transported to the West Indies."

* Ibid., 239.

In the month of November, 1655, all the Irish of the townland of Lackagh, county of Kildare, were seized on by the agents of government. They were only forty-one in number, and of these four were hanged by sentence of court-martial; the remaining thirty-seven, including two priests, were handed over to Mr. Norton, a Bristol merchant, "to be sold as bond slaves to the sugar planters at the Barbadoes."* Again we find, on 8th December, 1655, a letter from the Commissioners to the Governor of Barbadoes, "advising him of the approach of a ship with a cargo of proprietors deprived of their lands, and seized for not transplanting. . . They add that amongst them were *three priests*, and the Commissioners particularly desire that these may be so employed as they may not return again where that sort of people are able to do much mischief, having so great an influence over the popish Irish."†

6. It happened that towards the close of 1655 some of the early Cromwellian adventurers had been themselves entrapped, and carried away to the Barbadoes. This occasioned a suspension for awhile of the Puritan slave-trade. It was only a momentary calm, however, and as Jamaica had in that very year been seized on by the English, we find the men-catchers commissioned again in 1656

* Ibid., p. 168.

† Ibid., p. 161.

and the following years, to pursue the remnant of the Irish Catholics. Thus, on the 3rd of May, 1656, the governors of the various prisons received orders to convey their prisoners to Carrickfergus, "to be there put on board such ship as should sail with the first opportunity for the Barbadoes." One aged priest, named Paul Cashin, arrested at his mission in Maryborough, was amongst those thus hurried off towards Carrickfergus. On the way he fell dangerously sick at Philipstown, and a petition being sent in his name to the Commissioners to be allowed to remain, they replied by an order of 27th August, 1656, allowing him sixpence per day during his sickness, which munificent sum "was to be continued to him in his travel thence to Carrickfergus, in order to his transportation to the Barbadoes."

In Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances," there is an Act of Parliament passed in 1656 which, after stating that "the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs of the persons attainted, do remain in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, having little or no visible estates or subsistence," commands all such persons "to transplant or be transported to the English plantations in America." We also find a commission, in 1658, to Sir Charles Coote (Lord President of Connaught) and Colonel Sadlier (Governor of Galway) to treat with a certain Stubbers and other

merchants, about procuring a ship for 80 or 100 prisoners, "to sail with the first fair wind to the Indian Bridges (the usual landing place in the Barbadoes), or other English plantations thereabouts in America."* This was only the first batch of those sentenced during the preceding assizes. Morison, too, gives another instance. In 1657, a gentleman of Clare, named Daniel Connery, was sentenced to banishment by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby for harbouring a priest. The wife of the gentleman fell sick and died; and "three of his daughters, most beautiful girls, were transported to the West Indies, to an island call the Barbadoes; and there, if they are alive, they are in miserable slavery."†

7. The author of the "Description of Ireland in 1654," observes that it was enmity to our holy faith that impelled the Puritans to this barbarity:—

"The heretics, at length, despairing of being ever able to alienate the Irish from the ancient faith, transport their children in shipsfull, for sale, to the Indian islands, that thus, forsooth, no remnant of the Irish race may survive, and none escape from the utter extermination of the nation."

And the same writer adds an instance of the sufferings to which the Irish slaves were subjected in these distant islands:—

* *Order of Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, 26th Oct., 1658.* Ibid., p. 64-5.

† *Threnodia*, printed in 1659, p. 287.

"God alone knows the severe lot that awaits the Irish children in that slavery. We may form some idea of it from what happened to some others of our nation there last year, that is to say, in 1653. The heretics, seeing that matters were prospering with the Irish in the island of St. Christopher, and being excited partly by envy and partly by hatred of the Catholic religion, seized in one night and bound with chains three hundred of the principal Irish that were there, and carried them off to a desert island, which was wholly destitute of all necessaries of life, that there they might inevitably perish from cold and starvation. This was, alas! too sadly realized in all, excepting two, who, through despair, cast themselves into the sea, resolving to risk their lives rather on the waves than on the barren rocks. One of these soon perished, and the other reached the mainland, bearing the sad intelligence of the dreadful fate of his companions."

8. As in the preceding articles, so also in this, we may adduce the authority of the learned Archdeacon of Tuam:—

"They banished," he says, "to the remotest depths of India, crowds of old men and youths, great numbers of matrons and virgins, that the former might toil in hard slavery, and the latter support themselves by prostitution. Our enemies are more cruel than Ælius Adrianus himself; for, if he has justly been stigmatized as atrociously cruel for prohibiting, under penalty of death, any citizen of Jerusalem from coming within sight of his native walls, what foul stigma can adequately express the guilt of the monsters who banish men, not from the sight of one city alone, but from every part of their native land."—(*Camb. Evers.*, vol. 3rd, p. 183.)

We have already seen how elsewhere he relates

that "many priests were banished to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves, and condemned to work in twisting tobacco and other slave labours."

9. The letter of Father Grace, mentioned above, states that those who yet survived in 1666 were cruelly treated both temporally and spiritually: "The administration of the sacraments, and the giving of instruction, is wholly interdicted, nor can any priest visit them without risking his life."*

10. Another "Relatio" of the same islands made about the same time, reckons the population of Barbadoes at 40,000, of whom 8,000 were Irish; and it adds, regarding these Irish, that "they are sadly deprived of spiritual assistance; nevertheless their constancy in the faith is wondrous and miraculous (*mira et miraculosa*), for they cling to it despite the oppressive exactions, and threats, and promises, and innumerable arts employed by the heretics to withdraw them from it." In another small island adjoining St. Christopher, the same narrative

* A decree of the Provincial Synod of Tuam, held in January, 1660, is as follows:—"Intimetur S. Cong. de Prop. Fide necessitas missionis faciendæ pro exulibus Hibernis qui sunt in insulis Americæ, ex clero nationis nostræ qui sunt in partibus ultramarinis et quod alii ex eodem clero ad nos remittantur ad sustinendum onus curæ animarum, sub quo ultra vires laboramus in summa temporum calamitate."

says, there were 600 Irish; these stealthily sought to frequent the sacraments, and assist at the holy sacrifice in some of the French chapels, but “as often as they are discovered they receive the lash and are fined by their English masters” (*muletas et verbera patiuntur ab Anglis*).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OATH OF ABJURATION.

1. ATTEMPT TO FORCE CATHOLICS TO TAKE OATH OF ABJURATION.—2. FORM OF THAT OATH.—3. PENALTIES FOR NOT TAKING IT.—4. ACTIVITY OF CLERGY IN OPPOSING OATH.—5. PURITANS THIRSTING FOR CONFISCATION.—6. NOBLE CONDUCT OF CATHOLICS OF CORK; ALL REFUSE THE OATH PUBLICLY.—7. OTHER DISTRICTS EQUALLY FAITHFUL.

1. Father Richard Shelton, Superior of the Jesuits in Ireland, writing to the Sacred Congregation, on the 29th of April, 1658, conveyed the sad intelligence, that the persecution of Cromwell against the Irish Catholics was carried on with ever-increasing fury; two of the Jesuit fathers had lately been arrested, and were treated with great cruelty; especially, he adds, “every effort is now made to compel the Catholics, by exile, imprisonment, confiscation of goods, and other penalties, to take the sacrilegious oath of abjuration, but all in vain, for as yet there has not been even one to take it, with the exception

of a stranger residing in our island, who had acquired large possessions, and being afraid of losing them, and at the same time being ashamed of the other Catholics, undertook a journey of more than 200 miles to present himself to one of Cromwell's commissaries."*

2. The oath devised by Cromwell, condensed into a few formulas all the virulence of Puritanism against the Catholic tenets. It was as follows :—

" I *A. B.* abhor, detest, and abjure the authority of the Pope, as well in regard of the Church in general, as in regard of myself in particular. I condemn and anathematize the tenet that any reward is due to good works. I firmly believe and avow that no reverence is due to the Virgin Mary, or to any other saint in heaven; and that no petition or adoration can be addressed to them without idolatry. I assert that no worship or reverence is due to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or to the elements of bread and wine after consecration, by whomsoever that consecration may be made. I believe there is no purgatory, but that it is a popish invention; so is also the tenet that the Pope can grant indulgences. I also firmly believe that neither the Pope, nor any other priest, can remit sins, as the papists rave. And all this I swear," &c.†

* In a note of the Sacred Congregation at this period, reference is made to a Brief sent by the Holy Father to console the Catholics of Ireland, and animate them to endure with constancy the persecution to which they were exposed.

† Morison *Threnodia*, &c., p. 31; Ant. Bruodin, p. 95; De Burgo, p. 708.

3. The penalty enacted against all who should refuse to take this oath was the confiscation of two-thirds of all their goods, which was to be repeated each time that they should prove refractory. It was expected that the Catholic gentry, already reduced to poverty by continued exactions, would be terrified into compliance by the dread of absolute penury and utter ruin which now impended over them. As to the poorer class another penalty was enacted, forsooth, slavery in the Barbadoes.* In every town commissaries and officers were specially deputed to receive this oath, and these received instructions from government to commence with such persons as would probably assent to the oath, and to proceed in the matter with the greatest energy.

4. At this moment of peril for the faith of our people, the Catholic clergy were everywhere to be seen abandoning their hiding-places to encourage their flocks; they fearlessly went around from house to house, admonishing the rich to despise their transitory possessions, when an eternal inheritance was at stake, and reminding the poor that God's providence would not abandon them, and that in His own good time God

* Ibid. Also "*Relatio quorundam quæ in Hibernia acciderunt circa juramentum quod abjuratæ vocant a Cromwello Catholicis injunctum emitti.*"—A Contemp. MS. preserved in Archiv. Colleg. Hib. Romæ.

would repay an hundredfold all their sufferings.*

"These exhortations were not made in vain (we quote the words of a contemporary narrative), and the innate constancy of the whole nation in the Catholic faith, shone forth with such splendour, that a like instance of national constancy can nowhere be found in history: all, animated with the spirit of faith, declared that they were ready to endure extreme torture rather than obey the impious edict. Even the most wealthy betrayed no apprehensions, and they avowed that of all the penal enactments, this was the most grateful to them; for in the others some secondary motive was often assigned, but here the only and express motive was hatred to the Catholic faith, for which it would be to them a matter of joy to sacrifice whatsoever they possessed."†

5. For once the heretics were found to second the efforts of the Catholic clergy. They yearned for new confiscations, and already had marked out for themselves the lands now possessed in Connaught by the transplanted Irish gentry. The better to secure their prey, they assumed the sheep's clothing, and going round amongst the Catholics, they declared that the act of parliament was most unjust, that no one should interfere with their conscientious convictions, that they admired the steadfastness of the Catholics in adhering to principle, despite every enactment, and this heroic constancy of the nation had won for it an immortal fame through-

* MS. *Relatio*, &c. "*Tunc videre erat e clero latebris exeuntes, cursare per Catholicorum domos,*" &c.

† *Ibid.* *Hæc et similia non surdis canebantur*, &c.

out the kingdoms of Europe.* The Catholics were not deceived by these vain appearances, but, nevertheless, they clung unflinching to their holy resolve.

6. The citizens of Cork had already distinguished themselves by their constancy in the Catholic faith; when summoned to take the impious oath their laurels were multiplied ten fold.

To the city of Cork all the Catholics of the surrounding territory were ordered to repair on a stated day to have the new oath proposed to them; the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of all their goods was enacted for all above fifteen years of age who should neglect to attend. On the appointed day, between five and six thousand Catholics entered the city walls; a few only absented themselves, anxious to await the result. According to the heretical custom of holding the assizes in the cherished sanctuaries of the Catholics, the magistrates took their seats in *Christ's Church*, a happy omen, that even the material edifice should be dedicated to Him whose faith was now so nobly to be confessed.

All were arranged in processional order, that the oath might be more easily administered individually to each of them. In the foremost ranks was a young man who entered the church with a light step, and whose looks beamed with joy.

* Ibid. "Videres lupos vulpes imitantes ut certius prædentur et devorent," &c.

The clerk received immediate orders to administer to him for, the first the oath ; for the magistrates saw in his joyous countenance a readiness, as they imagined, to assent to their desires. The young man requested that the oath should be translated into Irish, for he feared lest some of those around him not understanding the English language, might inadvertently take the oath ; a crier at once read it aloud in Irish, so that all within the church might hear. "And what is the penalty," he then asked, "for those who refuse the oath?" "The loss of two-thirds of their goods," was the magistrate's reply. "Well, then," added he, smiling, "all that I possess is six pounds ; take four of them ; with the two that remain, and the blessing of God, myself and my family will subsist ; I reject your oath."

An aged husbandman that stood by his side, filled with admiration, cried out aloud, "Brave fellow, reject the oath." The words were caught up from rank to rank till the church and the street without rang with the echo, "*reject the oath, the impious oath.*" For half an hour these words and the exclamation, "Oh ! God, look down on us ;" "Oh, Mary, mother of God, assist us," could alone be heard. The magistrates, as though a thunder-clap had rent the heavens, were struck mute with terror ; then, rising from their seats, they commanded the assembled multitude to disperse, and every one of them, under pain of death, to depart from the city within an hour. Thus, con-

cludes the contemporary narrative, the glorious confessors of Christ went forth with joy, praising God for the mercy he had shown to them.

7. In other districts similar scenes of Catholic constancy were witnessed, and none could be found to assent to the impious oath, and barter for the momentary enjoyment of their perishable goods the priceless treasure of their faith.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSTANCY OF THE IRISH IN THE FAITH.

1. MISERY OF IRELAND IN COMPARISON TO OTHER COUNTRIES; PROGRESS, EDUCATION, TRADE IMPEDED IN IRELAND.—2. NO PENALTY COULD SHAKE CATHOLIC FAITH.—3. PRAYER AND FASTING OF THE PEOPLE.—4. ONLY 500,000 CATHOLICS REMAINING IN IRELAND.—5. STATISTICS AT VARIOUS TIMES; SIR WM. PETTY'S ESTIMATE AND LORD ORRERY'S; DR. PLUNKET'S.—6. EXTRACT FROM JESUIT NARRATIVE.

1. The author of *Cambrensis Eversus** well contrasts the condition of the Irish nation with that of other countries, at the close of this sad period:

“The happiness of the other nations of Europe has often excited our envy. They have peace on every side, and dwell every one under his own vine and fig-

* It was published in 1662. See reprint by Rev. Dr. Matthew Kelly. Dublin, 1848. Page 61, seq.

tree, but we are expelled from our home and country ; others overflow with abundance of all things, we are emaciated by want ; the foreigner is naturalized amongst us, the natives are made aliens. In foreign cities majestic piles of new buildings are every day toweriug to the skies, with us the foundations of not a single house are laid, while the old are heaps of crumbling ruins, their roofs open to the rains, and their walls rent, or mere shells and shapeless masses.

"In other countries temples are zealously decorated, with us they are either levelled to the ground or roofless, or desecrated by tribunals which condemn men to death, or by similar sacrilegious uses.

"The children of foreigners receive a learned education, which is contraband and penal in our country. With them the clergy are honoured, with us they are either in dungeons or forests, in bogs or caverns. The universal law of the Christian world has exempted from slavery all who profess the Christian religion ; but your Irish subjects are torn from the arms of their wives and children by civic vultures, and transported and sold as slaves in India. Thus are the children of the Irish made a prey, and their wives carried off, and their cities destroyed, and their holy things profaned, and themselves made a reproach to the nations. . . . There is no species of injury which the enemies have not inflicted on the Irish, no virulence which they have not disgorged, no torture which they have not employed."*

2. It would, indeed, be difficult to find in history a parallel for that ever-redoubled cruelty which the Puritans displayed. Yet it was im-

* "Nullæ sunt nocendi artes quas in Hibernos inimici non exercuerunt nullum virus quod non effuderunt ; nullum tormentum quod non intenterunt." Ibid.

possible to weaken the innate attachment of the Roman Catholics to their holy religion. Countless was the number of those who perished by the sword of the persecutor, or on the scaffold, yet the survivors declared themselves ready to risk the same torments rather than renounce the Catholic faith. When they were offered the enjoyment of their possessions, should they embrace the new creed, all, as in Cork, went forth from their homes, embracing poverty, and cold, and nakedness, in preference to prosperity with the wicked; when their lives were offered to them if they only delivered up their priests to the mercy of the enemy, they chose to be butchered with the martyrs of God rather than live with the impious; when, as we have just seen, the oath of abjuration was commanded, under penalty of the loss of the little goods that yet remained to them, they, with one accord, resolved to cling to the cross of Christ, and reject the proffered boon. As a true Christian people, they looked upon all their sufferings as chastisements from the hands of God, and their chief care was, by penitential deeds, to avert His indignation.

3. One instance is especially recorded in the "Description of Ireland in 1654":—*

"Throughout the entire kingdom prayers and fasting were ordered; the priest in each district exhorting the people to appease the anger of God by penitential deeds.

* Status &c., 1654.

With such exactness was this order obeyed, that there was not one Catholic throughout the entire kingdom who did not fast for three days on bread and water, and even the little children of four, or perhaps only three years, most rigorously observed that fast; moreover, all that had attained the proper age were consoled with the holy sacraments of Confession and the Eucharist. No sooner did this piety of the people become known than, like oil cast upon the fire, the fury of the heretics was rekindled three-fold, and, like hungry wolves, they now breathe nothing but slaughter, and threaten to pursue, with still more atrocious violence, the children of Christ."

4. Thus, as often in the ways of God, the immediate result of the piety of our people seemed to be only a redoubling of the persecutor's rage, and yet these prayers were not breathed in vain; "a remnant remained in Israel;" all the power and ingenuity of the enemy could not root out the tree of faith, and the 500,000 Catholics that then survived in Ireland were in less than two hundred years swelled to more than eight millions.

Father Read (or Redanus), writing in 1651, even then eulogized their immoveable attachment to the faith, and predicted that heresy would rage in vain against the time-honoured Church of our island: "The Puritans," he says, "have essayed to achieve what Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth, and James attempted in vain; what neither a hundred years of persecution, nor the thousand arts of Protestants could effect. Hence, they destroy our altars, statues, and paintings; our churches are made stables for their horses;

our bells are turned into cannon; our baptis-teries are made receptacles of filth; the Catholics are expelled from their lands, and homes, and country; unheard-of torments are employed against our martyrs; all this, however, only serves to render more illustrious the unflinching firmness of the Irish in the faith—as the rock remains unmoved amidst the foaming waves.” And he adds: “Certain it is that in a hundred years the Irish coast has not been so lashed by the waves of the raging ocean that surrounds it, as the faith of its people has been assailed by the storms of persecution, and the fury of the English and Scotch heretics.”*

5. Sir William Petty, writing in 1672,† states that the population of Ireland, in 1641, was 1,466,000, the Catholics being to Protestants as *eleven to two*. After the devastation of the country by the Puritans the population could not be accurately determined, yet the same writer (page 29) estimates the proportion of Catholics to Protestants as *eight to one*. Lord Orrery, writing to the Duke of Ormond, Feb. 26, 1662, says—“It is high time to purge the towns of the Papists, as in most of them there are three Papists to one Protestant.”

At the same time, in the rural districts, the Catholics were as fifteen to one. Dr. Plunket,

* *Com. in Macchab.* (Lyons, 1651), p. 31.

† *Political Anatomy*, &c., page 13.

in some of his letters, states the proportion of Catholics to Protestants throughout Ireland as eleven to one; but he subsequently adds that the proportion was smaller in the northern counties. It cannot, of course, be pretended that these calculations were accurate, for, owing to the state of the country, it must have been impossible to learn the precise number of the Catholic inhabitants in the rural districts. One thing, however, they sufficiently prove, that the persecutors had not attained the desired end, and that with the Irish race the Catholic religion was still firmly rooted in Ireland. Sir William Petty describes as follows the religion of our country at this period:—" *All the Irish are Catholics; the Scotch colonists are Presbyterians; the English are one-half Protestant, the other half Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and other dissenters.*"

6. We have already often had occasion to refer to a manuscript narrative of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland, written about the year 1655; from it we extract the following record of the devotedness of the surviving natives in enduring every suffering rather than abandon the Catholic faith:—

"Although heresy and tyranny, in the fulness of its pride, strove by every sacrifice and cruelty, to extirpate this people, and wished that there should be *no smith in Israel*,* that thus the nations might be either over-

* Cambrensis Eversus writes in 1662 almost in the same strain. "They have drawn their precedent from

whelmed in ignorance, or compelled to whet their arms in the forges of the Philistines; nevertheless, the Irish, despising every danger, choose rather to send their children to distant lands in search of learning, than that they should enjoy at home domestic ease under heretical masters, imperiling their faith. So tenaciously and indomitably has the whole nation clung to the Catholic faith in its full integrity and purity, that in a thousand Irishmen, scarcely one can be found who is not thoroughly devoted to the Holy See: and even the heretics who came to Ireland from other countries, when they have lived there for a little while, and become accustomed to the genius of the people, gradually detest their heresies, and embrace the Catholic religion."

CHAPTER IX.

DECAY OF THE PURITAN COLONISTS.

1. PROTESTANT COLONIES NEVER PROSPER IN IRELAND; THEY PILLAGE AND SEIZE ON THE COUNTRY, BUT, VISITED BY THE HAND OF GOD, THEY FALL AWAY; CONTEMPORARY TESTIMONY; FAITH DEEPLY ROOTED IN IRELAND.—2. DISEASES AND AFFLICTIONS WITH WHICH THE INVADERS WERE SCOURGED.

1. That Protestant colonists have never been able to secure a permanent hereditary succession in Ireland, is a matter of notoriety. As regards

the policy of the Philistines who, *after banishing all smiths* from the land, fell upon the Israelites unarmed," &c. Edit. Dublin, page 23.

the Puritan hordes that rushed over to seize on the devastated country, we shall merely cite an extract from the manuscript narrative just now referred to:—*

“ The English Parliamentarians in the beginning of the war, inflated with their own power and strength, did not hesitate to parcel out Ireland for sale to the London merchants, and other heretics throughout England. The whole kingdom was thus divided, as if by agrarian law, into geometrical portions, a certain price being fixed for each farm. Each one purchased for himself some vast territory, subdividing it at a higher price to others.

“ New colonists thus flocked to Ireland in countless numbers;† artizans, merchants, soldiers, and others, numbering more than 200,000. To consummate the insolence of their pride, they already prepared ships, with chains and cords, and more than 30,000 iron manacles are said to have been made, to transfer the Irish slaves (it was thus they designated our free and innocent people) to the Indian islands, to cultivate the tobacco-plant, and they were all persuaded that the old inhabitants being expelled, they had nothing to do but to settle down at their ease and enjoy their estates.

“ But, behold, the hand of the Lord struck these persecutors, I might say, with Egyptian plagues. They were not, as yet, three months in Ireland, when most fetid vermin crawled forth from their bodies in such swarms, that their hair, and beard, and garments, were covered with them, so that they could not appear in public through shame, nor could they anywhere find rest; and what increased the wonder, though their beds

* *Relatio rerum quarumdam, etc.*

† “ *Ingens colluvies.*”

and rooms were filled with this pest, yet the contagion did not spread to the neighbouring Irish, nor did it even touch the Irish servants of those who were infected with it, not one of whom is known to have suffered from this disease; it was confined to the strangers alone, and by that disease, and in other ways, God so humbled their pride, that from 1641 to 1650, more than 180,000 English, in various parts of Ireland, were carried away, not so much slain in war, as destroyed by this Herodian disease and other plagues. And though the Puritans have now nearly all Ireland in their own hands, still we are confident that they will not last, nor strike deep roots; * but when our offended God will have, through them, scourged us for our iniquities, the earth shall, in the words of Scripture, vomit them forth, and like their predecessors they too, will fall away.

“ For it is observed and confirmed by experience, that since the beginning of the Anglican schism, all the heretics that went from England to inhabit Ireland, though they were, by rapine and exactions, raised on a sudden to immense wealth and the highest titles, yet, like snow at sunrise, they melted gradually away, and as smoke and vapour they quickly disappeared. Not that this is to be imputed to the English nation, whose natural disposition and innate uprightness, were they not infected with heresy, would be admired and loved by all; but in these facts we recognise the special punishment of God for heresy, and the special protection of St. Patrick for our island, who, as he expelled all serpents from our shores, so that none can, to the present day, subsist there, so did he obtain for us this blessing from God, that the Catholic religion being once planted in Ireland, it should never be infected by the poisonous breath of heresy. The Catholic religion

* “ *Persuasum habemus eos non fore diuturnos, nec radices altos acturos.* ”

has certainly continued untainted for twelve hundred years and more, in our island; so that from the blessing already received, through the intercession of our holy Patron, we have reason to hope for the future blessing; and the present firmness of the nation in the faith of Christ, is a pledge of its future constancy."

2. There are few facts in history more striking than this decay of the Puritan colonists. It is only, indeed, by some such act of divine vengeance, that we could explain how our country was preserved from being infected by their pestiferous blasts. The fact, moreover, is confirmed by the contemporary, Archdeacon of Tuam, whose numbers, however, are less than those given in the above extract, as he speaks only of the *English and Scotch soldiers*. "Charles Coote," he writes, "suffered the just punishment of his most atrocious cruelty: he was mortally wounded by some unknown hand, and thus, like another Julian, the apostate, appears to have fallen under a judgment sent down on him by God himself. In their own printed account, the English confess, that of the 60,000 English and Scotch soldiers sent over to Ireland, the great majority were carried off by unknown and horrible distempers, in such heaps, that the cemeteries of Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork, could not contain them, and pits were dug in the fields, outside the walls, to bury them. This was the just punishment for those torrents of innocent blood so

savagely shed, when the victims, after surrendering on the promise of life, were first stripped naked, and then treacherously massacred."—Vol. iii. p. 101.

PART THE THIRD.

Individual Instances of the Persecution of Catholics.

CHAPTER I.

1. SUFFERINGS OF D. DELANY, P.P. OF ARKLOW.—2. VARIOUS INSTANCES OF CRUELTY IN THE NORTH, IN MEATH, WICKLOW, AND KILDARE; DEATH OF DONNCHAD O'CONAIGH AT WICKLOW.—3. SUFFERINGS AND CONSTANCY OF PETER O'HIGGINS.—4. OF ALBERT O'BRIEN, BISHOP OF EMILY—HIS DEATH; PROPHECY REGARDING IRETON.—5. DEATH OF L. O'FERRALL.—6. OF THADDEUS MORIARTY.—7. OF A. A. CAHILL.—8. MARTYRDOM OF JOHN O'CULLEN.—9. ACCOUNT OF ANSELM BALL AND HIS LABOURS IN DUBLIN.—10. OF BONAVENTURE CAREW.

WE have already, in the preceding pages, given instances of the excessive cruelty with which the Puritan persecutors raged against the Irish Catholics. There are, however, many others which deserve a special commemoration. We do not, indeed, propose to ourselves to enumerate all who, by their heroic sufferings attained, the

martyr's crown,* but we shall endeavour to cull from contemporary writers sufficient examples to enable the reader to form a more complete idea of the worse than pagan persecution to which our country was subjected at the period of which we treat.

1. *Daniel Delany*.— This worthy priest had charge of the parish of Arklow, and Gorey was the theatre of his martyrdom. Dr. John Lynch, writing in 1662, thus describes his heroic death : “ The enemy came by surprise on Daniel Delany, parish priest of Arklow, and savagely massacred, before his eyes, his servant named Walsh, who was flying for his life with a packet of the sacred vessels and ornaments ; but the priest himself being a powerful man, drew his sword, and defended himself so well against the attack, that he compelled his assailants to promise him his life if he delivered up his sword. So far, however, from keeping their solemn promise, they immediately stripped the venerable man naked, and tied him to a horse's tail ; the rider goaded his horse to full speed

* We here have to protest, that when calling any of our countrymen martyrs, we wish to conform most strictly to the decrees of Urban VIII. and Benedict XIV. We do not use the word in its official sense, as if the Church had spoken in the cases referred to ; we leave the final decision of all the cases of sufferings which we mention, or have mentioned, to the infallible judgment of the Church.

through a road covered over with brambles and thickets, and rough with frost and frozen snow, and dragged the priest to the town of Gorey. There the savage commander of those hunters condemned him to death in violation of the solemn promise. He was covered over with blood, his sides torn, and his whole frame exhausted ; he was, nevertheless, delivered up to a guard of soldiers who were to watch in turn during the night. While he lay there naked, sleepless, frozen with cold, and livid with bruises, his guards amused themselves with twisting and plucking his long beard with a cane, and cruelly beating his sides with cudgels ; but these excruciating tortures could extort no other answer than that he would bear his sufferings more patiently as it seemed to afford them some pleasure. Next day he was three different times hanged to the bough of a tree, and three times let down to the ground to protract the agony of his torture ; but he was strangled with a rope at last, and thus ended his life of suffering to reign triumphant in heaven.”—(*Cambr. Evers.*, vol. 3, page 182-3.)

2. Before taking leave of the learned Arch-deacon of Tuam, we give one more extract from his invaluable work, in which he details some scenes of Puritan barbarity, and especially the martyrdom of the aged Donatus, or Donnchadh O’Conaigh :—

“ Before the slightest disturbance had appeared

in Ards (a district of Ulster), Hamilton, governor of the district, ordered all his dependants and farmers to retire and shut themselves up in his castle, that they might save themselves from the impending fury of their enemies. The poor victims rapidly flocked thither from all quarters, never suspecting the honour of their master ; but when they were all locked up in a barn the brand was flung on the roof, and all perished in the flames.

“Charles Coote, a most blood-thirsty monster, perpetrated horrible massacres in several parts of Meath and Leinster. In the village of Munenasrule, about a mile from the town of Wicklow, he put the muzzle of a horse-pistol into the mouth of a beggar who asked alms, and then ordering the poor creature to blow into the barrel, he fired the bullets into his throat, and murdered him in sport.

“Francis More, son of Viscount Mellifont, committed a similar atrocity in 1641, on one Thomas Philips, in the village of Balrudery.* At Blackhall, in the county of Kildare, he committed a horrible massacre of old men, women, and children, and transfixed the little infants on

* An act of the same kind was committed in the chapel of Castlecomer, in 1798, by a yeoman officer, who afterwards died devoured by vermin in the house now occupied by the National Bank, Kilkenny.

their mothers' breasts with his swords and lances. Having spent a night with some of his officers in the house of a noble lady whose husband was absent, he was treated with splendid hospitality and costly presents; but when the lady followed him to the door to bid him adieu on his departure, he ordered a rope to be thrown around her neck, and hanged her before her own door.

“Donnchadh O’Conaigh, aged sixty years, had the soles of his feet smeared with grease and burned at a fire in the camp at Wicklow, by order of Colonel Crafford; the noble old man survived the torture only one day.” (*Cambr. Evers.*, loc. cit., page 91-5.)

3. F. Peter O’Higgins belonged to the order of St. Dominick, and in 1641 he was led to the scaffold, for the Catholic faith, in the court-yard of Dublin Castle. We will allow Father Dominick O’Daly to describe the scene of his suffering:—“This pious and eloquent man,” thus writes O’Daly, in 1655, “was arrested and brought before the Lords Justices of Ireland, on a charge of endeavouring to seduce the Protestants from their religion. When his accusers failed to sustain any capital charge against him, the men in power sent to inform him, that if he abandoned his faith he might expect many and great privileges; but all depended on his embracing the Protestant religion. From the first he knew well that they had resolved on his death; but it was on the morning of the day fixed for his

execution that the messenger came to him with the above terms.

“O’Higgins, in reply, desired to have those proposals made to him under the signature of the Justices, and requested, moreover, that it should be handed to him in sight of the gibbet. The Lords Justices, hearing this, together with the order for his execution, sent the written document for pardon on the aforesaid condition. Now when the intrepid martyr had ascended the first step of the ladder leading to the gibbet, the executioner placed the paper in his hand. He bowed courteously on receiving it, and loud was the exultation of the heretical mob, who thought he was about to renounce the Catholic faith; but he, standing on the scaffold, exposed to the view of God and man, exhibited to all about him the document he had received, and commenting with warmth on it, convicted his impious judges of their own avowed iniquity.

“Knowing well that there were Catholics in the crowd, he said, addressing them—‘My brethren, God hath so willed that I should fall into the hands of our relentless persecutors. They have not been able, however, to convict me of any crime against the laws of the realm; but my religion is an abomination in their sight, and I am here to-day to protest, in the sight of God and man, that I am condemned for my faith. For some time I was in doubt as to the charge on which they would ground my condemnation;

but, thanks to Heaven! it is no longer so, and I am about to suffer for my attachment to the Catholic faith. See, you here the condition on which I might save my life. Apostacy is all they require, but, before high Heaven, I spurn their offers, and, with my last breath, will glorify God for the honour He has done me in allowing me thus to suffer for His name.' Then, turning to the executioner, after having cast the Justices' autograph to the crowd, he told him to perform his office, and the by-standers heard him returning thanks to God even with his latest breath. Thus did iniquity lie unto itself—thus did the martyr's constancy triumph."*

4. *Terence Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly.*—The spot where this holy bishop was martyred is yet pointed out and venerated by the Catholics of Limerick:—"When Limerick was besieged," writes O'Daly, only four years after Dr. O'Brien's death, "Ireton sent him word that he would give him forty thousand pounds sterling, and permission to retire whithersoever he should wish out of the kingdom, provided he ceased to exhort the people against surrender; but his heroic soul spurned the offer, as he had resolved to fight the

* "History of the Geraldines," by Dominick de Rosario O'Daly, O. P., originally written in Latin, and printed at Lisbon in 1655; translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan, and printed in Dublin in 1847. See also De Burgh's *Hib. Dom.*, page 561.

good fight, and win that crown which is the guerdon of the just. When the English commander heard this, he excepted the bishop from amnesty and every other condition that he proposed to the besieged, and swore, moreover, that he would visit the citizens with the most rueful retaliation if they did not bring to his quarters the head of the prelate, together with those of twenty men who voted against giving the city into his hands. Two hundred ecclesiastics assembled in council, and after mature consideration, resolved to interpose between Ireton and the twenty whom he had doomed to die; but in vain, for *all ecclesiastics, too, were excepted*. The bishop offered to give himself up provided the lives of the rest were spared, but all the ecclesiastics rejected his proposal. At length the city was surrendered and the holy bishop fell into the enemy's hands."*

We glean the particulars of his glorious death from the Acts of the general chapter of the Dominican Order, held in 1656—"He went with joy to the place of execution, and there, with a serene countenance, turning to his Catholic friends who stood in the crowd inconsolable and weeping, he said to them—"Hold firmly by your faith, and observe its precepts; murmur not against the arrangements of God's providence, and thus you will save your souls. Weep not at

* Hist. Geraldin., page 204, seq. 9.

all for me, but rather pray that in this last trial of death I may, by firmness and constancy, attain my heavenly reward.* He then, filled with a prophetic spirit, reproved the ferocity of the heretics, declaring that divine vengeance would soon await their crimes, and summoned Ireton, the arch-persecutor, to appear in eight days before the tribunal of the just Judge, to answer for his deeds of cruelty. This prophecy was verified, and on the eighth day Ireton, stricken with the plague, and crying out that the execution of the innocent bishop was the cause of his death, miserably expired. As to our holy martyr, his head was fixed on a spike and remained long exposed to public view on the tower." O'Daly thus writes in 1655—"The bishop's head may yet be seen—covered with flesh quite incorrupt, and hair—on the tower which rises in the middle of the city over the great bridge, and drops of blood frequently issue from it."†

5. *F. Laurence O'Ferrall* was a descendant of the illustrious house of that name. On being arrested and examined, some letters from the apostolic nuncio were discovered sewed up in his inner garments. "None," writes O'Daly, "could have been more active than this zealous man in promoting the Catholic cause during his career.

* Apud de Burgo., Hib. Dom., page 489.

† Loc. cit., page 287. It was on the 31st of October that the holy bishop happily consummated his course.

His death was painful as fiendish ingenuity could make it. Beaten with sticks, burned with gunpowder, and finally pierced by the sword; this holy champion committed his soul to God in 1651.*

De Burgo, gives from the contemporary acts of the order, farther particulars of his happy martyrdom. "Being arrested, he was brought, covered with wounds, before the authorities. Through the intercession of some friends, though contrary to his own desire, three days were given him to meditate on the expediency of renouncing his religion. These three days were passed by him in tears and prayers that it might be granted to him to receive the martyr's palm. On being led to the scaffold, he addressed an exhortation to the Catholics with great fervour and unction, then arranged his beads around his neck, and grasping his crucifix in his right hand, composed himself in prayer. What was viewed as a great prodigy by all, when hanging from the scaffold, and in the agonies of death, he raised aloft his hands holding in them the crucifix, which was thus presented to the gaze of all as the trophy of victory."†

6. *Thadæus Moriarty*. — Killarney was the

* Hist. Geraldin., page 212.

† Hib. Dom., page 539, ex actis general. Romæ, an 1656. See also the "Irish Eccles. Record," No. 3 artic. 4.

theatre of his martyrdom in 1653, and the heretics themselves affirmed that his calmness and firmness in death exceeded anything they had ever witnessed. Father O'Daly, writing only two years later, thus sketches his life : " He was the last friar of the Dominican convent of Tralee. Well skilled in moral and dogmatic theology, the splendour of his birth was surpassed only by the brilliant effulgence of his virtues. The learning and piety of this holy man soon came to be known by the relentless persecutors of his creed, and they left nothing undone in order to seize him. Never did the bride more joyously go forth to the marriage altar than he did to death, and never did the starveling more eagerly desire food than did this glorious champion the scaffold of martyrdom.

" When the death-warrant was read for him, he clasped the messenger and distributed money to his executioners ; from the scaffold he exhorted the spectators not to be dismayed, but to cling with tenacity to their hallowed creed, and to be ever mindful of the vicissitudes and transitoriness of this life ; he moreover described martyrdom as the secure as well as the shortest path to the heavenly crown, and was then immediately executed. It was deemed by many most wonderful and deserving of attention how the body of the martyr, which the gloom and miseries of the prison had emaciated and distorted, became, as it were, transfigured after death, beaming with

such splendour and comeliness, and radiating such rays of beauteous light, that the executioners themselves were heard to say that he wore an angelic countenance.

“Throughout life he was a model of humility and mildness, and never known to have lost his temper. During his martyrdom, though beaten with clubs, and lashed with whips, he gave no sign of impatience, but seemed wholly insensible to all these stripes. Interrogated by his judge why he did not obey the laws of the kingdom, he mildly answered, that he had to obey God, and His vicegerents who had commissioned him to preach the Gospel of Christ. Truly was this venerable man an apostolic minister, a true disciple of our Lord, walking in the footsteps of Christ, and displaying all the characteristics of a true apostle. He suffered on the 15th of October, 1653, and the heretical soldiery still continue to guard his sepulchre, lest the people should bear away his honoured remains.”*

7. *Aeneas Ambrose Cahill* was arrested not far from the city of Cork, and the enemy soon discovered that in him they had captured a valiant soldier of Christ. “Powerful was his eloquence,” says the historian of the Dominican order, “in combating false doctrine, and dauntless his heart in the defence of his country. Furious was the hatred of his enemies, and bitter was the agony

* Loc. cit., page 212-4.

to which he was consigned. His body was cut into minute particles, and cast for food to ravens, an. 1651.*

8. The order of St. Dominick yielded at this period an abundant harvest of martyrs to our Irish Church. The names of no fewer than fifty members who thus received the crown of martyrdom may be seen in De Burgo and O'Daly. Amongst them was particularly distinguished Father John O'Cullen of the Convent of Athenry, "A man devoted to observance of his rules, a model of piety, wholly given to prayer and mortification, ever desirous of the poorest apparel, and at the same time endowed with such a penetrating genius that he mastered almost every science. In many public conferences he, with great learning, refuted heresy and animated the Catholics, and more than once risked his life in the defence of the authority of the Holy See. At length being seized by the heretics, and covered with innumerable wounds, he joyfully laid down his life for Christ, in 1652."†

9. *Anselm Ball* was a priest of the order of Capuchins, a native of Fingall, and for more than

* Loc. cit., page 215. Hib. Dom., page 567.

† Hib. Dom., page 572.

‡ O'Daly after commemorating very many of his own order who thus suffered death for the faith, adds— "But, alas! I am not able to tell you in detail how many of my fellow-countrymen were made to drain the cup of persecution even to the very dregs."

twenty years laboured on the Irish mission. Most of the clergy having been expelled from Dublin by the fury of the Puritans, Father Anselm succeeded for awhile in disguising himself, whilst, at the same time, he indefatigably laboured in consoling the afflicted faithful of that city, and administering to them the holy sacraments, "so much so, that he often passed two successive days and nights without having an interval for repose." As the danger increased within the city, seeing it impossible any longer to escape the snares of his heretical pursuers he fled to the country parts. Finding that even there "none were allowed to receive him into their homes under penalty of death and of the confiscation of their properties, he built for himself a little hut of brambles in a rocky district; thence he went forth at midnight, covered only with rough and tattered garments, and exposed to rain, and wind, and snow, and frost, visiting the surrounding towns, and risking every danger in order to satisfy the ardour of his charity. More than once his hut was discovered by the enemy, and then he was compelled in the depth of night to fly for refuge to the mountains or subterraneous caves, having nothing for his food but a little barley bread and water, which itself was sometimes wanting to him. So great was the devotion of the people in these calamitous times, that whatsoever place he marked for the Holy Sacrifice, and no matter how dark or

stormy the night might be, all assembled there."

When it pleased Providence to afflict his children with the scourge of pestilence, a new theatre was opened for the zeal of Anselm. At that time "in the city and adjoining country, no fewer than 2,000 were weekly hurried to the grave." For four months it raged with special violence, and it was three years before it wholly ceased. During all this time Father Anselm devoted himself to the attendance of those that were stricken with the disease "being often obliged to enter, creeping on hands and feet, the fetid huts of the persecuted poor;" to no fewer than seven thousand persons infected with the plague did he administer the consoling sacraments of the Church, and many of the most destitute he was obliged on their decease to bear on his shoulders to a place of sepulchre.

Seven times he fell into the hands of the heretical troops, and, besides, being bruised and beaten was despoiled of his books and vestments, and all that he possessed; he was, however, each time, either by the interposition of Providence, or by the exertions of some Catholics, enabled to escape. On one occasion he was recognized and assailed by one horse soldier alone; the good father, however, proved more than a match for his assailant, and soon unhorsed and disarmed him, and then obliging him to solemnly promise that he would never more pursue any priest, he

restored to him his horse and arms. Once he was brought before the magistrate, and received sentence of transportation to the Tobacco islands; even then, however, his good fortune did not fail him, and, through the influence of a friendly nobleman, the sentence was remitted, and he was enabled to pursue his ministry of charity.*

10. *Bonaventure Carew*, a native of Killarney, belonged to the same order. Being arrested and cast into prison, he was thence sent into exile. Returning, however, to his missionary labours, he was again made prisoner, "cast headlong into a subterraneous dungeon, so small that he could neither stand erect nor lie down, and there, without one ray of light, he was detained for eighteen months in a lengthened martyrdom."†

* These particulars have been taken verbatim from a paper of F. Barnabas Barnewall, written from Dublin on 4th October, 1669.

† Ibid., Relat. P. Barnab. Barnewall, 1669.

CHAPTER II.

Individual Instances of Persecution continued.

1. F. DOWDALL'S ZEAL IN DUBLIN; HE DIES IN PRISON IN LONDON.—2. DEATH OF B. FEGAN, BISHOP OF ROSS.—3. OF N. MULCAHY, P.P. OF TIPPERARY.—4. OF J. LYNCH AND R. NUGENT, P.P.'S IN MEATH.—5. LABOURS OF J. FORDE IN PROMOTING EDUCATION.—6. ZEAL OF S. GELOSSE IN PROMOTING RELIGION AND EDUCATION.—7. DEATH OF D. O'BRIEN.—8. OF B. FITZPATRICK.—9. OF LADIES ROCHE AND FITZPATRICK.—10. OF MRS. A. READ, DESCRIBED BY HER SON.—11. F. BRIEN AND BARRY, OF THE CONGREGATION OF ST. VINCENT, AND BROTHER LEE; THEIR SUFFERINGS.—12. DEATH OF F. O'HIGGINS, P.P. OF NAAS.

1. *Father John Dowdall* was remarkable for the number of heretics whom he brought back to the bosom of the Catholic Church. One of these was a Presbyterian in Dublin, who was so inflamed with hatred of the Catholic religion, that each Sunday he regularly bound his wife (who was a Catholic) with cords lest she should assist at the Sacrifice of the Mass. By the exhortations of Father Dowdall he first desisted from this cruel practice, and soon after became a fervent convert to our holy faith.

The occasion of another conversion was wholly

peculiar. It proceeded from a dream. The heretic dreamt that advancing to the gate of heaven and boldly knocking for admission, St. Peter came to the door and sternly reprovèd him, saying, "no heretic can enter here." Full of courage, however, he knocked and re-knocked, but finding all in vain, he at length asked aloud, "what should he do to obtain admission." St. Peter then returning to the door admonished him to go and seek a priest, and to be, through him, received into the true church, as none but its children could be admitted into the heavenly mansions. Awakening from his sleep he could find no rest till he sought for a priest, and being conducted to Father Dowdall was by him reconciled to holy church.* This good father was frequently arrested by the heretical troops. The last time he fell into their hands he was transferred to London prison, and there, wasted away, by hunger and cold, attained his heavenly reward.†

2. *Boetius Egan*, bishop of Ross, and a member of the order of St. Francis. This prelate, whose memory is yet fresh in the traditions of our country, had, in the fulness of his zeal, ventured to make his way to some distant and abandoned parts of his diocese, whilst the country was laid waste by Ludlow and his savage bands. On his

* Ibid.

† Ibid. See also *Notitia Historica Ord. Cappuc. in Hibernia*, printed in Rome in 1859.

return to the lonely retreat in which he had for months lain concealed, he was overtaken by a troop of cavalry. The renunciation of his faith, he was told, would secure not only his pardon but even the confidence and patronage of their general; various bribes and promises were also held out to him, but he rejected them with disdain. He was then abandoned to the soldiers' fury, and his arms being first severed from his body he was dragged along the ground to a neighbouring tree, and being hanged from one of its branches, by the reins of his own horse, happily consummated his earthly course, A.D. 1650.*

3. *Nicholas Mulcahy*, during the siege of Clonmel, was seized upon by a reconnoitering party of Cromwell's cavalry. He was parish priest of Ardfinnan in the county Tipperary, and was famed for his zeal and apostolic labours. He had been frequently advised to fly from the storm, but his affectionate solicitude for his flock rose superior to every counsel. Immediately on his arrest, he was bound in irons, conducted to the camp of the besiegers and offered his pardon, should he only consent to use his influence with the inhabitants of Clonmel, and induce them to

* Bruodin "Passio Martyr," page 530. The Louvain record of the order, thus briefly notices this great man. "Pater Boetius Egan Momoniensis, Epus. Rossensis orthodoxæ fidei strenuus defensor et assertor; pro qua an. 1650, glorioso martyrio vitæ finem et coronidem imposuit."

deliver up the town. These terms he rejected with scorn. He was consequently led out in sight of the besieged walls, and there beheaded whilst he knelt in prayer for his faithful people and asked forgiveness for his enemies.*

4. *James Lynch* and *Richard Nugent*, were also parish-priests, the former of Kells, the latter of Ratoath, in the county Meath, and were both put to the torture, and suffered on the same day in defence of the Catholic faith. Father Lynch was a venerable old man, nearly eighty years of age, and was massacred in his bed, to which, through infirmity, he had been a long time confined. Father Nugent was sent under an escort to Drogheda, and a gibbet having being erected within sight of the walls, he ended his course with such serenity and firmness as confounded his enemies, and drew forth the tears and benedictions of the faithful inhabitants of that ancient city.†

5. One of the chief objects of solicitude of the Irish clergy has ever been the promotion of science and the establishment of colleges and schools. The deluge of Puritan persecution laid in ruins the many establishments which, despite preceding oppressive laws, had sprung up in every district of the kingdom. Even whilst this storm raged, however, many zealous priests were not wanting, who, in the depths of the woods, or

* Bruod. in loc. cit., append.

† Ibid.

on the summits of the mountains, sought to keep alive the spark of learning as well as of religion. Amongst those we find, especially recorded, the Rev. James Ford, of the Society of Jesus, who, in the centre of a large bog, chose a little spot of ground of more than ordinary consistency—there he erected a wooden hut, and numbers of children from the surrounding districts flocked to him for instruction; they too erected little huts all around, and that cherished spot soon became a true oasis in the wilderness that surrounded it. The progress of these youths in virtue and learning consoled their zealous master; and they, moreover, vied with him in enduring, not only with fortitude, but even with joy, all the inconveniences to which they were exposed.*

6. *Stephen Gelosse* was another of those worthy fathers who devoted their lives to the instruction of our youth in literature and piety. The following sketch of his life was compiled by Dr. Oliver,† from the original acts of the Society. “No dangers that threatened him from the Cromwellian party, who filled every place with blood and terror, could deter this genuine hero from doing his duty; no weather, no pestilential fevers, no difficulties could hold him back from visiting the sick and the dying in their meanest

* Status Soc. Jes. in Hib. an. 1654.

† “Collections towards illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish members of the Society of Jesus,” page 248.

hovels. His purse, his time, his services were always at the command of the distressed Catholic; it was his food and delight to exercise the works of mercy, corporal and spiritual. Though the tyrant Cromwell had issued a proclamation to his troops, that, should they apprehend a priest in any house, the owner of such house should be hung up before his own door, and all his property be confiscated, and that the captors of the priest should be rewarded at the rate which destroyers of the wolf formerly received; nevertheless, F. Gelosse managed every day to offer up the unbloody sacrifice of the altar: his extraordinary escapes from the clutches of his pursuers border on the miraculous. He adopted every kind of disguise; he assumed every shape and character; he personated a dealer of faggots, a servant, a thatcher, a porter, a beggar, a gardener, a miller, a carpenter, &c., thus becoming all to all in order to gain all to Christ. However, he was four times apprehended, but his presence of mind never forsook him, and he ingeniously contrived to extricate himself. After the restoration of Charles II. he set up a school at Ross, which took precedence of all others in the country, whether rank, numbers, proficiency, discipline, or piety be taken into consideration; but this was broken up by the persecution in 1670. He then removed to the vicinity of Dublin, where he taught about forty scholars; and in August, 1673, he returned to Ross to re-open his school, but at the end of

three months he was obliged, by the fanatical spirit abroad, to abandon his favourite pursuit."

7. *Donatus O'Brien*, as we learn from an eyewitness of Cromwellian cruelty, was descended of the royal race of the O'Briens, a most generous man, and of surpassing hospitality; after the Protestants had plighted to him their faith, and given him a safe-conduct, he was advancing one day to meet them when a certain Protestant knight shot him through the body. "Dissatisfied with this cruelty, when the venerable old man (then aged about sixty-four years), had entered a hut, half dead, that he might in penitence commend his soul to God, a soldier followed, set fire to the hut, and burned this courageous martyr, in Thomond, A.D. 1651.*

8. *Bernard Fitzpatrick* was a holy and illustrious priest, descended from the noble lineage of the barons of Ossory. "Flying for refuge from the fury of the Protestants to a cave, he was pursued by them; entering the cave they cut off the head of this most holy man, who was equally renowned throughout the whole kingdom for his life, his doctrine and his lineage. They affixed his head to a spike over the town gate to be meat for the fowls of the air, and left his flesh to be devoured by the beasts of the field.†

9. We shall conclude our extracts from Mori-

* Morison's *Threnodia*, printed in 1659.

† *Ibid.*

son with his account of the martyrdom of two noble ladies. "The inhuman fury of the Protestants," he writes, "was not satisfied with the slaughter of men, but they also drew their swords against women. Thus the noble Lady Roche, wife of Maurice, Viscount of Fermoy and Roche, a chaste and holy matron, whose mind was solely occupied with prayer and piety, being falsely accused of murder by a certain ungrateful English maid-servant (whom she had compassionately taken when a desolate orphan, and supported and educated), was hanged in Cork in 1654, although stricken in years, and destined in the course of nature soon to die. The noble Lady Bridget, of the house of Darcy, wife of Florence Fitzpatrick, one of the barons of Ossory, was also hanged by the Protestants at Dublin, in 1652, without the form of law or justice.

"What shall I yet say? time would fail me to narrate the martyrdoms of chiefs, nobles, prelates, priests, friars, citizens, and others of the Irish Catholics, whose purple gore has stained the scaffolds almost without end; who by faith conquered kingdoms and wrought justice, of whom some had trials in mockeries and stripes, moreover, also of chains and prisons; others were overwhelmed with stones, cut asunder, racked or put to death with the sword; others have wandered over the world in hunger, thirst, cold, and nakedness, being in want, distress, and afflicted, wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens,

and in caves of the earth. And all these being approved by the testimony of the faith, without doubt received the promise.”*

10. *Mrs. Alison Read*, in 1642, sealed the confession of her faith by an heroic death, in the town of Dunshaughlin: The soldiery rushing in on that defenceless town, seized on fifty old men, women, and little boys, and mercilessly slew them with their swords and spears. Mrs. Read, then in her eightieth year, encouraged these sufferers to endure every torment with constancy for the faith. Fired with rage at her exhortations, the Puritan soldiers, after inflicting many wounds, set her up as a target for their guns; and thus she happily expired. The son of this venerable martyr has preserved to us her memory; and in his commentary on the Book of Maccabees mentions her heroic death to illustrate the fortitude and holy sentiments of the mother of the seven Maccabees—the true model of female heroism.†

* *Threnodia*, page 72.

† Redanus Petrus, in *Machab.*, page 257. This learned man died on the 1st August, 1651, the same year in which he published the first volume of his commentary, the only volume that has been published. He thus describes the fury of the Puritan enemy: “Non omnia rapiunt, deprædantur, ferro et flamma devastant, modo, sed et in pueros, fœminas, senes ferinum in morem sanguinolenti sæviunt, pusionesque et infantes Catholicos (ut mihi narravit qui præliis interfuit) decussatos ad formam crucis pugionibus transfodiunt. . . .

Some particulars which he incidentally mentions illustrate the devoted piety of our people at this trying period. "There was not one of the family," he says, "even among the distant relatives, who had renounced the faith. His father daily recited the little office of the Blessed Virgin, and Mrs. Read was especially remarkable for her tender devotion to the Mother of God; she instilled the same into her children, and Father Read gratefully recalls to mind how, when a child, he was every morning before breakfast obliged to recite the 'little office' in her honour. Providence rewarded this piety of the worthy matron, and notwithstanding the poverty of the clergy, and the severe edicts against them, and the watchful vigilance of their persecutors, she was enabled to approach the holy sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, on the sixth day, and again on the second day before her martyrdom."

11. We have here to mention Fathers Brien and Barry, and Brother Lee:—The two former, Fathers of the Congregation of St. Vincent, and the last a lay brother of the same order. In a preceding chapter we have described, at great

Pervenit Dunschaghtinum (abest ab urbe Dublino, miliaria duodecim) tertio Idus Junii an. 1642, Calvinistarum immitis et prædabunda caterva, iram immanem in fidem Catholicam et Hiberni sanguinis exsatiatura sitim, quam multa jam, per vicus, agros, et castella Mediæ, patrata ciedes accenderat potius quam lenierat," &c. Ibid.

length, the apostolic labours of these holy missionaries in the city of Limerick. It was only after concluding that article, that through the kindness of the learned archivist of the Lazarist order, we were enabled to ascertain their names, as well as the following additional particulars connected with their missionary career. "Although the three fathers who had laboured in Limerick during the siege, escaped the fury of Ireton on its surrender, one of them resolved to remain in the city to assist with his sacred ministry the remnant of its Catholic citizens; and after awhile consummated there his holocaust of charity. The two others, Brien and Barry, escaped with about 120 other priests and religious, in various disguises, mixed up with the garrison of the place, who, by the terms of the capitulation, obtained their lives and permission to retire from the city. As there was no quarter allowed for any ecclesiastics, these holy men, sure that death awaited them, passed the night preceding their escape in prayer and preparation for their martyrdom. They were not, however, recognised; and after escaping from the city they separated, Father Brien taking the road towards his native district, in company with the vicar-general of Cashel, whilst Father Barry went towards the mountains, where a charitable lady received him, and concealed him for two months. A bark, freighted for France, appearing on the coast, he availed himself of the opportunity thus

presented, embarked in the vessel, and, happily, landed in Nantes. This caused indescribable joy to St. Vincent, who had already given up these two fathers as lost, believing them to have been involved in the general massacre of Limerick. Although these good priests escaped from that general massacre, the congregation paid its tribute to the persecution, and a lay-brother of the order named Lee, being discovered by the heretics, was brutally put to death by them before the eyes of his own mother; his hands and feet were first amputated, and his head was then bruised to atoms.”*

12. In addition to the Father O'Higgins, whose happy martyrdom we have already commemorated, there was another holy priest of the same name put to death in 1641, by the worse than Gothic persecutor, Sir Charles Coote. Naas had been for many years the scene of Father O'Higgins' evangelical labours; and we are informed by Clarendon and Borlase that, on the first outburst of popular fury in 1641, he had preserved the life of very many English Protestants who were living in the neighbourhood, concealing them in his church, and afterwards sending them safe to Dublin.

We shall give in the words of Lord Clarendon

* These particulars are taken from the acts of the order, and a letter of St. Vincent to Lambert, the superior of Warsaw, on 22 March 1651 (styl. vet.).

the account of his arrest and execution:—"In the town of Naas, some of the soldiers (of the Marquis of Ormond) found Mr. Higgins, who might, 'tis true, have easily fled, if he had apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the Marquis, he voluntarily acknowledged that he was a papist, and that his residence was in the town, from which he refused to fly away with those that were guilty; because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he could not be without ample evidence of it, having by his sole charity and power preserved very many of the English Protestants from the rage and fury of the Irish; and, therefore, he only besought the Marquis to preserve him from the violence of the soldiers, and put him securely into Dublin to be tried for any crime. Which the Marquis promised to do, and performed it, though with so much hazard, that when it was spread among the soldiers that he was a papist, the officer into whose custody he was entrusted, was assaulted by them; and it was as much as the Marquis could do to relieve him and compose the mutiny.

"When he came to Dublin he informed the Lords Justices of the prisoner he had brought with him—of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage, and of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit from entering into rebellion; and of many charitable offices he had performed, of which there

wanted not evidence enough, there being many then in Dublin who owed their lives and whatever of their fortunes was left purely to him ; so that he doubted not he would be worthy of protection. Within a few days after, when the Marquis did not suspect the poor man's danger, he heard that Sir Charles Coote had taken him out of prison and caused him to be put to death in the morning before, or, as soon as it was light ; of whose barbarity the Marquis complained to the Lords Justices, but so far were they from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be under some disadvantage for thinking that proceeding to be other than it ought to have been."

Thus far Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Irish Rebellion. We learn from De Burgo, that the day of his death was the 23rd of March, 1642 : his constancy in suffering, and the heavenly joy depicted in his countenance, moved many of the heretics to tears ; others, however, redoubled their fury on witnessing his calm composure ; nor did they cease their insults even after his death, discharging their muskets at his dead body, and dragging it for sepulchre without the city walls. (De Burgo ex Actis Capit, Gen. 1644, page 561.)

CHAPTER III.

Individual Cases of Persecution continued.

1. HUGH M'MAHON EXECUTED IN LONDON IN 1643.—
2. DEATH OF FERGALL WARD.—3. OF CORNELIUS O'BRIEN.—4. OF CHRISTOPHER ULTAN.—5. OF MALACHY O'QUEELY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.—6. OF DENIS NELAN.—7. T. CARIGHY.—8. OF FELIX O'NEILL.—9. OF ARTHUR MAGENNIS, BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.—10. OF CONNOR MACGUIRE, LORD OF ENNISKILLEN, TRIED IN LONDON AND EXECUTED IN 1644; HIS PIETY AND ATTACHMENT TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH; PRAYERS.—11. LETTER OF A. NUGENT, CAPUCHIN.

1. *Hugh M'Mahon*, the head of his most noble family in Ulster, being arrested in Dublin, in 1641, was sent to London, and after a close confinement there for two years, was led to the scaffold; being first hanged, his body was cut into quarters and affixed on London-bridge. Before execution, the parliamentarians more than once sent to him, offering him his life and the restitution of all his property should he only consent to renounce his spiritual allegiance to the Church of Rome; he heroically disdained this vile offer, and thus passed to a better life in 1643.*

* Bruodin, *Descriptio Regni Hib.*, cap. 8.

2. *Fergall Ward* was a native of Ulster, and a member of the order of the strict observance of St. Francis. He was renowned for his eloquence and for his zeal in the exercise of the sacred ministry. In 1642 he was seized on by a cruel and barbarous pirate, a Scotchman, named Forbes, who kept six vessels in the service of the Puritans, and chiefly infested the banks of the Shannon. In the third month after his arrest he was hanged from the masthead *in odium fidei*, in the very centre of the river Shannon, where the pirate then lay in wait for some prey, about the end of October, 1642.*

3. *Cornelius O'Brien*, the lord of Caringh, in the county of Kerry, a man of great hope to his family and his country, was arrested by the piratical bands of the same Forbes, in the castle of Glanens, which was situated on the banks of the Shannon, and was the property of John Geraldine. Being conducted to their vessels, threats and promises were alike employed in vain to induce him to abandon the Catholic faith. He was therefore led out to execution, and on the same day with Father Ward, and by a similar death, attained the martyr's crown. Both were hanged at the same time, one at each extremity of the masthead, and subsequently, at full tide, the ropes being cut, their bodies were cast into the river.

* Ibid.

4. *Christopher Ultan* (or Donlevins).—This father of the order of St. Francis, after completing his studies in Spain, for many years preached with great fervour the sacred truths of the Gospel in the province of Ulster. He was concealed with Father Ward at the time of his arrest, and shared in his captivity. The Puritan pirate, Forbes, anxious to supply a bloody feast to the London mob, sent Father Ultan a prisoner to England; for three years he was detained a captive in Newgate (London), and there subjected to many cruelties; his constitution yielded to the severity of the prison, and he expired, before being led to the scaffold, in the year 1644.*

5. *Malachy O'Queely*, Archbishop of Tuam.—This prelate governed the see of Killaloe for some years as vicar-apostolic, and on the 10th of October, 1630, was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam in a private chapel at Galway, by Dr. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel.† All contemporary historians agree in extolling the virtues of Dr. Queely. No one was more humble or fervent in the discharge of his sacred duties, whilst at the same time no one was more active and energetic during that period of extreme peril to his religion and country. He was the father, and protector, and advocate of the poor, and the

* Ibid.

† See his *profess. fidei* and letter of Dr. Walsh in *Archiv. S. Isid. Romæ*.

widows, and the oppressed ; and he was eminently distinguished for his learning and hospitality. He accompanied the Connaught army when it achieved many brilliant victories in 1645, but at length, being mortally wounded, he fell into the enemies' hands at a place called Clare, near Sligo. The Puritans first cut off his right arm, and then cruelly mangled his body, cutting it up into small pieces.*

6. *Denis Nelan*, a priest of the order of St. Francis, and descended from noble parents in the county Limerick. Before entering the Franciscan order, he was for many years parish priest of Kilragty, and his labours produced an abundant spiritual harvest. From 1642 to 1651 these labours were happily continued by him as a Franciscan father, till at length Limerick became a prey to the Puritan strangers. With many others, Father Denis fell into their hands, being arrested in the house of his relative, Mr. Laurence Neherenny. With his hands tied behind his back he was led along, like a convicted robber to the island of Saint Cunan, where was then the heretical camp. The whole way along he fervently exhorted the heretical soldiery to attend to their eternal salvation ; and when inter-

* Hardiman's Hist. of Galway, who gives the letter of the contemporary Dr. John Dowley, also Bruodin and others. For a sketch of his life see collections on Irish Church History, vol. 1, page 402.

rogated by the commander whether renouncing the doctrines of Rome he would subscribe the Puritan tenets? he courageously replied that he had long anxiously sighed for an occasion when he might lay down his life for the Catholic faith, and he not only would never renounce its saving doctrines, but was ready, moreover, to endure a thousand torments in its defence. These words were scarcely uttered when the surrounding soldiers, erecting a temporary gallows, hanged him on the spot.*

7. *Thudens Carighy* made his solemn profession amongst the religious of the Franciscan convent of *Inish*, and filled the whole district of *Thomond* with the odour of his virtues. In 1651 he was arrested by the Cromwellians in the neighbourhood of his convent, and was tempted with the promise of riches and dignities should he renounce the Catholic faith; but neither allurements nor tortures could turn him aside from the path of virtue, and by the order of his captors he was immediately hanged and his body barbarously mangled.†

8. *Felix O'Neill*, an illustrious prince of the noble family of O'Neill, was captured by heretical device, and sent to Dublin in 1652; he was first half-hanged, and whilst yet alive, was quartered. His head was stuck upon a spike at the western gate of the city, and his quarters were sent to

* Bruodin, loc. cit., cap. 8.

† Ibid.

different parts of the kingdom to be set on spikes, in order to terrify the Catholics. Before this brave champion of the cross was led to the scaffold, the heretics offered him his life and the restoration of his property, should he consent to embrace the Puritan tenets. These offers, however, were made in vain, and the thrice happy Felix chose rather the eternal felicity that awaits the true soldiers of Christ, than the fading, deceitful joys of this transitory world.*

9. *Arthur Magennis*, Bishop of Down and Connor.—Few dioceses in Ireland contributed more martyrs from its hierarchy than the ancient see of Down and Connor. Under James I., and again under Charles I., we find its bishop laying down his life for his flock. During the persecution of Cromwell, it not only shared with Clogher the glory won for the Irish Church by the heroism and fortitude of Emer M'Mahon, but merited, moreover, to have its own chief pastor put to death for his unflinching attachment to the Catholic faith. This was Dr. Arthur Magennis. Dr. French, indeed, in his "Catalogue of the Irish Bishops," merely states that he died at sea:† and Bruodin only adds that he was advanced in years, that he was, at the time, suffering from a violent fever, and that he was subjected by the heretics to much hardship and

* Ibid.

† See De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.*, p. 490.

persecution. From the Bishop of Clonfert, however, we learn by what peculiar art the persecutors effected his death. As he suffered from a burning fever, and was weighed down by years and his preceding hardships, he was compelled to keep to bed when sailing towards the shores of France. Even the most ruthless savage would desist from torturing a venerable aged man, thus a victim of disease and anguish : but the Puritan sailors, with brutal ferocity, delighted in adding to his sufferings ; a cannon was introduced and fired off at his bedside ; and though it was only charged with powder, such was the terror that it excited in the aged bishop that he instantly expired.*

10. *Connor MacGuire*, Baron of Enniskillen.—This nobleman was arrested in Ireland in 1641 ; and after the sufferings of a long imprisonment in the Tower of London, was at length brought to trial in that city, on the 10th of February, 1644. An account of his trial, written by Wm. Prynne and M. Nudigate, who conducted the proceedings against him, was published in Dublin, 1724. He was charged with high treason against King Charles the First, by parties who very soon afterwards brought that unhappy

*Letter, 31st Aug., 1652 : “ *Dunensis, proh dolor ! dum hinc transfretaret, tormenti globo non attingente, sed horribili tremendoque cum sonitu sub lectulum, in quo jacebat, transeunte, deterritus expiravit.*”

monarch to the scaffold. Tried by men most hostile to everything Catholic and Irish, Lord Connor MacGuire could expect no justice, and he was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, embowelled, beheaded, and quartered.

This sentence was carried into effect on the 20th February, 1644, at Tyburn. Lord MacGuire's petition to be allowed the assistance of a priest to hear his confession was refused. The sheriff and others made several attempts to make him renounce his faith; but their offers were rejected with scorn. They even endeavoured to prevent him from spending a few minutes before his death in prayer, and repeatedly interrupted his devotions. The sheriff even ordered his pockets to be searched on the scaffold, but nothing was found in them except a crucifix and some beads.

When Doctor Sibbald, a Protestant clergyman, attempted to bring him over to heresy, "he regarded," says the report of the trial, "not his discourse;" but read the following words to the people: "Since I am here to die, I desire to depart with a quiet mind, and with the marks of a good Christian, that is, asking forgiveness first of God, and next of the world. And I do forgive from the bottom of my heart, all my enemies and offenders, even those that have a hand in my death. I die a Roman Catholic, and although I have been a great sinner, yet am I now by God's grace heartily sorry for all my sins, and I do

most confidently trust to be saved, not by my own works alone, but by the passion, merit, and mercy of my dear Saviour, Jesus Christ, into whose hands I commend my spirit."

The sheriff, after this, repeatedly interrupted MacGuire in his devotions; "but," adds the narrative, "all this while his eye was mostly upon his papers, *mumbling* over something out of them to himself: whereupon one of the sheriffs, demanding those papers of him, he flung them down."

We copy some of the prayers which were found written on the supposed treasonable papers then seized on by the sheriff.

"Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth; Thou hast created me, O my God; Thou hast redeemed me, O most holy Father. I am all Thine; let Thy will be done in me; illuminate mine eyes, that I may never sleep in death.

"Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, do thou protect us from the enemy, and receive us in the hour of death.

"O holy archangels, and my angel guardian, my patrons, and all the saints of heaven, intercede for me, and help me by your prayers and merits.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that Thou art my God and my Redeemer, and I firmly believe whatsoever Thy holy Catholic Church propounds to be believed, and profess that I will live and die in this faith.

"It grieves me that I have offended so great goodness, and it grieves me that I can grieve no more for my offences committed against Thee my Creator and Saviour in thought, word, and deed, and by omission; and I humbly beseech Thee to pardon me by Thy blood which Thou hast poured out for my salvation; and if I have forgotten anything which hath offended Thy Majesty, or do not know it, I desire to know it and repent it.

"And in the mean time I ask forgiveness of all, and likewise for Thy sake do, from my heart, pass by all offences whereby others have offended me. Also I pray them to forgive me; and if I have detained anything from any man, my heirs shall make restitution to them to whom it is due."

When at length the sheriff gave the final order for execution, Lord MacGuire said: "I do beseech all the Catholics that are here to pray for me; and I beseech God to have mercy on my soul." Such is the account of the death of this truly Christian nobleman, which has been handed down to us by his enemies and executioners. His faith and courage and patience render him equal to the martyrs of the first centuries.

11. *Anthony Nugent*, of the order of Capuchins. — We shall conclude this chapter with a letter of this zealous missionary, dated from Waterford, the 23rd of June, 1651:—

"Since it pleased divine Providence to give victory to the Puritans on every side, we are

scattered, each one seeking, as best he can, to evade the search of our enemies; and as these have all Ireland now in their hands (with the exception of Limerick—which, however, is closely besieged—and of Galway and Athlone, which will certainly fall during the summer), no ecclesiastic can anywhere appear in public; for neither by reward nor intercession, can the Puritans be induced to tolerate any priest in the country.

“On account of this I was compelled to abandon my brother and Westmeath, where all the Franciscans of Multifarnan were all scattered, and especially those that had remained in their monastery. I then passed into Meath, where I remained some time; being recognised, however, I fled to Dublin, where I lived as a gardener, until all the Catholic citizens were expelled from the city. I then went to Kilkenny, where I found our father Fiacre, and other priests and religious in prison, for whom our lay-brother John provides by soliciting alms: as my assistance was not needed in Kilkenny, where there were several religious and priests, I hastened to the city of Ross, where there was no priest, but where there is an abundant spiritual harvest.

“Having terminated a mission there I came to Waterford, where the harvest was still more abundant, the city being far more populous, and scourged with the plague. I am here alone for six weeks, attending to the wants of the poor and of the rich, and it is my intention to remain here

until the sword or the plague shall terminate my career.

"I had no confessor until God sent an English priest to this city: returning from Spain to England he was forced to enlist by the parliamentarians, who were ignorant of his being a priest, and being sent into Ireland to join the Puritan army here, he effected his escape, and now lies concealed in the neighbourhood.

"I pass freely through the city, acting as the gardener of the greatest heretic in the place: I work also as a porter in carrying burdens. Should God grant me a continuance of this happy tranquillity I will remain here; if, however, I am recognised, I shall, if possible, go on to Dungarvan and Youghal, and so make the circuit of Ireland until freed from the toils of this life.

"Father Gregory is at a distance of about fifteen or twenty miles from me, but as he is well known in the city and weighed down with years, he cannot come to me; neither can I go to him on account of the great scarcity of priests here, all the clergy having been banished from the city. I pray you to present my love to each of our fathers. I would write to many of them were it not that the letter-carrier is on the point of starting. I beseech you to be mindful of me in your prayers, and when you hear of my death write to Flanders, where the holy sacrifice will be offered for me."

CHAPTER IV.

EXAMPLES OF WHOLESALE MASSACRES PERPETRATED BY THE PURITANS.

1. PAMPHLET PRINTED IN LONDON IN 1662 GIVES DETAILS OF MASSACRES IN SEVERAL PLACES.—2. IN ANTRIM.—3. IN DERRY.—4. IN DOWN.—5. IN DONEGAL.—6. IN MONAGHAN.—7. IN CAVAN.—8. IN MEATH.—9. IN WESTMEATH.—10. IN LOUTH.—11. IN DUBLIN.—12. IN KILDARE.—13. IN WICKLOW.—14. IN KILKENNY.—15. IN TIPPERARY.—16. IN CORK.—17. IN WATERFORD.—18-21. IN CLARE, GALWAY, LEITRIM, AND SLIGO.

1. In the year 1662, was published in London, a pamphlet, entitled “A Collection of some of the massacres, &c., committed on the Irish in Ireland, since the 23rd of October, 1641.” The author more than once appeals to the testimony of officers yet living, who had been eye-witnesses of the dreadful deeds which he narrates, and no one has ever dared to question his veracity. It will suffice for us to give verbatim, without any commentary, those portions of the pamphlet which record the wholesale massacres in some of the various counties of Ireland.*

* Curry in his *Historical Review* (p. 409, sec. 9), gives copious extracts from this pamphlet, and commends “the author’s frequent, candid, and public appeals to things openly transacted, and to enemies themselves, then living.”

“ County of Antrim, A.D. 1641.

2. “ About the beginning of November the English and Scotch forces in Knockfergus murdered, in one night, all the inhabitants of the Island Magee, to the number of about 3,000 men, women, and children, all innocent persons, at a time when none of the Catholics of that country were in arms. Mr. MacNaughten having built a small fortress in the said county, to preserve himself and his followers from outrages, until he understood what the cause of the then rebellion was; as soon as colonel Campbell came near with part of his army, he sent to let him know that he would come to him with his party, which he did; and they were next day murdered, to the number of eighty. About the same time, 100 poor women and children were murdered in one night at a place called Balliaghurn, by direction of the English and Scotch officers, commanding that country.

“ About the same time, captain Fleming, and other officers of the said regiment, commanding a party, smothered to death two hundred and twenty women and children in two caves. And about the same time also, the said captain Cunningham murdered about sixty-three women and children in the isles of Ross.

“ It was likewise in 1641 that the governor of Letterkenny gathered together, on a Sunday morning, fifty-three poor people, most of them women and children, and caused them to be thrown off the bridge into the river, and drowned them all.

“ In November, the same year, one Reading, murdered the wife and three children of Shane O'Morghy, in a place called Ballykenny, of Rameltan, and after her death cut off her breasts with his sword.

“ In 1641 and 1642, the garrisons of Raphoe, Drombo, Lifford, and Castle Ragheen, slaughtered no less than one thousand five hundred of the poor neighbouring inhabitants, never in arms; and three persons were chiefly

noted among them for their barbarous cruelty, by name, James Graham, Henry Dungan, and Robert Cunningham, commonly called 'the killer of old women.' About two thousand poor laborers, women, and children of the barony of Tirbu, were massacred by the garrisons of Ballashany and Donegal; and lieutenant Thomas Poe, an officer among them, coming under color of friendship to visit a neighbour, that lay sick in his bed, and to whom he owed money, carried a dagger under his cloak, which, whilst he seemed to bow towards the sick man in a friendly manner, asking how he did, he thrust it into his body, and told his wife he should be no longer sick."

"County of Derry.

3. "In 1641, some three hundred men, women, and children of the Irish, having freely come under the protection of the garrison of Londonderry, were stripped, plundered, and killed by the said garrison."

"County of Down (A.D. 1641).

4. "The burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Newry, meeting the English army on their march to besiege the castle of the said town, were received into protection, and after quarter given to the garrison of the said castle, the said inhabitants, and the soldiers of the town, to the number of five hundred and upwards, men, women, and children, were brought on the bridge of Newry, and thrown into the river, and such of them as endeavoured to escape by swimming were murdered."

"County of Donegal.

5. "In 1641, about the 20th of November, Sir William Stewart commanded the gentry and inhabitants of that county to join with his forces in opposition to the rebels, and, accordingly, they came to the place appointed, where captain Cunningham, with a party of the said

Sir William's regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them, fell upon the inhabitants with his armed soldiers, and killed very many of them, among whom were Owen MacSweeny, Morris O'Farey, and Donagh O'Callan, gentlemen of quality and estate."

"County of Monaghan.

6. "In 1641, captain Townsley, governor of Maghernackle, killed four laborers, and a woman, being under protection. Captain Bromwell, governor of Clones, meeting upon the road with Mark Charles O'Connolly, a gentleman living under his protection, caused him to be shot to death. The soldiers of the garrisons of Dundalk and Trim killed no less than five hundred innocent persons, women and children, in that county. The armies of Munroe and the Lagan, in their several marches through the same county, slaughtered about two thousand poor old men, women, and children.

"In 1652, colonel Barrow, of Cromwell's army, having taken an island defended by lieutenant-colonel Patrick MacMahon, after killing the said lieutenant-colonel and his soldiers, put all the women and children to the sword, to the number of eighty, among whom a child of six years old being spared by the soldiers, was killed by order of the said colonel Barrow."

"County of Cavan.

7. "In 1642, Mark de la Pool, an English gentleman, having taken lands in that county, some years before the war, invited several of his friends to come out of England, and live with him, who were all murdered in their houses by the army, with the exception of the said De la Pool, who was brought into the town of Cavan, and there hanged, for no other reason but their being Roman Catholics, and living among the Irish. Sir Alexander Godven and his lady, both Scotch, but Roman Catholics, each of them above seventy years old, were plundered of their goods, and stripped naked, and

their sons, and tenants, and servants murdered. In the same year the English forces in this county drowned six hundred men, women, and children, in and about Butler's-bridge."

"County of Meath (A.D. 1642).

8. "In April, Mrs. Eleanor Taaffe, of Tullaghanoge, sixty years old, and six women more, were murdered by the soldiers of the garrison of Trim; and a blind woman, aged eighty years, was encompassed with straw by them, to which they set fire, and burned her. The same day they hanged two women in Kilbride, and two old decrepid men, who begged alms of them. Mr. Walter Dulin, an old man, unable to stir abroad many years before the war, was killed in his own house; and Mr. Walter Evans, a justice of the peace and quorum, an aged man, and bed-ridden of the palsey, was carried in a cart to Trim, and there hanged by the governor's orders.

"Many ploughmen were killed at Philbertstown. Forty men, women, and children, in protection, reaping their harvest in Bonestown, were killed by a troop of the said garrison; who, upon the same day, killed Mrs. Alison Read, at Dunshaughlin, being eighty-nine years old, and forty persons more, most of them women and children.

"About seventy men, women, and children, tenants to Mr. Francis McEvoy, and under protection, were killed by Greenville's soldiers; and one hundred and sixty more in the parish of Rathcoare, whereof there was one aged couple, blind for fifteen years before. Captain Sanford and his troop murdered, in and about Mulhussy, upwards of one hundred men, women, and children, under protection; and caused one Connor Breslan to be stuck with a knife into the throat, and so bled to death. Also one Eleanor Cusack, one hundred years old, was tied about with lighted matches, and so tortured to death in Clonmoghon. James Dowlan,

about one hundred years old, Donagh Comen, Darby Dennis, Roger Bolan, and several other laborers and women, to the number of one hundred and sixty, making their harvest, were slaughtered by the garrison of Trim.

“About the month of April, the soldiers under the said Greenville’s command killed in and about Navan eighty men, women, and children, who lived under protection. Captain Wentworth and his company, garrisoned at Dunmo, killed no less than 200 protected persons in the parish of Donamore, Slane, and the adjoining baronies. Forty-two others and eighteen infants were killed at Doranstown. A woman, under protection, was, by captain Morroe’s soldiers, put into the stock of a tuck-mill, and so tuckled to death, in the town of Steedalte. Lieutenant Ponsonby put two aged protected persons to death at Downastone, each of them about eighty years old. Captain Morroe caused about an hundred protected persons, men, and women, and children, to be put to death in the barony of Duleek. Many thousands of the poor inhabitants of this county were destroyed in the furze by fire, and the rest, for the most part, perished by famine.”

“County of Westmeath.

9. “In 1642, Mrs. Ellis Dillon, of Killenennin, having the Lords Justices’ protection for herself and tenants, their wives and children, they were all killed by soldiers under Sir Michael Earnley’s command.”

“County of Louth.

10. “In the month of February, 1641, about three hundred poor people were cruelly slaughtered in the wood of Derrner, by a party of the garrison of Dundalk and Tredath. In the beginning of March, about three hundred other farmers and labourers, with their wives and children, were massacred by a party of the garrisons of Dundalk and Tredath, in the Redmoore of Brangans-

town. About the same time captain Charles Townsley and lieutenant Faithful Townsley, with a part of the English army and garrison of Dundalk, slaughtered, at Dunmoghlan, two hundred and twenty inhabitants of several villages, commanded by the officers of the said army, who live in that place for their greater security. A party of the said garrison of Tredath and Dundalk killed above two hundred persons in the Castle of Reaghstown, after quarter given. One Anthony Townsley hanged Mr. Dromgole, of Dromgolestown, at his own gate. The said Townsley hanged upwards of thirty poor men and women going to the markets of Dundalk and Tredath, on a tree, commonly called eight mile Bush, midway between the said towns.

“In 1642 a party of horse and foot of the garrison of Tredath killed and burned in the furze above one hundred and sixty men, women, and children, of the inhabitants of Termonfeighkin, within three miles of Tredath; no less than one thousand of the poor inhabitants of that county were massacred.”

“County of Dublin.”

11. “About the beginning of November, 1641, five poor men, coming from the market of Dublin, and lying that night at Santry, were murdered in their beds by captain Smith, and their heads brought next day in triumph into the city. This occasioned Luke Netterville and others to write to the Lords Justices to know the cause of the said murder; whereupon their lordships issued forth a proclamation that within five days the gentry should come to Dublin to receive satisfaction. Before, however, these five days expired, sir Charles Coote came out with a party, plundered and burned the town of Clontarf, killing sixteen of the townsmen and women, and three sucking infants.

“In the same week fifty-six men and women of the village of Bellege, being affrighted at what was done at Clontarf, took boats and went to sea to shun the fury

of a party of soldiers gone out of Dublin, under the command of Colonel Crafford, but being pursued by the soldiers in boats, were overtaken and thrown over board.

“ In March a party of horse, of the garrison of Dunsoghlin, murdered seven or eight poor people in protection, tenants of Mr. Dillon, of Huntstown, having quartered in their houses the night before, and receiving such entertainment as the poor people could afford. About the same time a party of English quartered at Malahyde, hanged a servant of Mr. Robert Boynes at the plough, and forced a poor labourer to hang his own brother; and soon after they hanged fifteen of the inhabitants of Swords, who never bore arms, in the orchard of Malahyde; they likewise hanged a woman bemoaning her husband, who was hanged amongst them.

“ In the same year, after quarter given by lieutenant-colonel Gibson to those of the castle of Carrickmain, they were all put to the sword, being about 350, most of them women and children; and colonel Washington, endeavouring to save a pretty child of seven years old, carried him under his cloak; but the child, against his will, was killed in his arms, which was a principal motive of his quitting that service.

“ In April, 1642, one Nicholas Hart, and fourteen labourers, going with corn to the market of Dublin, and having a pass, were all murdered on the road by a party commanded by lord Lambert. The same day eighteen villages in protection, the farthest within six miles of Dublin, were plundered and burned, and to the number of 400 men, women, and children were cruelly massacred. About the same time a party of the garrison of Swords, having brought in thirty poor labourers, forced them to dig their own graves, and then killed them; the sheriff, too, of the county, killed sixteen persons coming from the market of Dublin. A party under the command of colonel Crafford murdered 140 women and children in Newcastle and Coolmain, being under pro-

tection. Many thousands more of the poor people of that county, shunning the fury of the soldiers, fled into thickets of furze, which the soldiers usually set on fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forcing them back again to be burned; the rest of the inhabitants, for the most part, died of famine. It is to be remarked that no less than twelve thousand of the poor inhabitants of that county were cruelly massacred the first year of the war."

/ "County of Kildare.

12. "In 1641, Captain Thomas Hughes having summoned thirty-three contributors to meet him at Hedges-town, caused them all to be murdered. The soldiers of Clongowe's-wood and Rathcoffey, yielding upon quarter, were conveyed to Dublin, and hanged there, and upwards of 150 women and children were found in the said places murdered. It is well known that the common people of that county were, for the most part, destroyed and slaughtered by the English, insomuch that there were not so many left as could gather the twentieth part of the harvest."

"County of Wicklow.

13. "In October, 1641, three women and a boy were hanged on the bridge of Newragh, by command of sir Charles Coote. Mr. Daniel Conyan, of Glancealy, aged, and unable to bear arms, was roasted to death by captain Gee, of colonel Crafford's regiment; and in the marches of '41, '42, and '43, the English army killed all they met in this county. In the usurper's time, captain Barrington, garrisoned at Arklow, murdered Donagh O'Daly, of Kilearrow, and more than 500 others who had been received into protection by himself; and it is well known that most of the common people were murdered."

"County of Kilkenny.

14. "The English soldiers of the garrison of Ballina-

kill in 1641. burned an old woman of ninety years of age in her own house in Idough. In the following year the same garrison massacred 180 men, women, and children who were cutting their corn in that neighbourhood. They also dragged Mr. Thomas Shee out of his own house, with five of his servants, and hanged them all at Ballinakil."

" County of Tipperary.

15. " On the 24th of October, 1641, one Browne and captain Peasely murdered eleven men, women, and children in their own houses at Golden Bridge, before any of the Catholics took up arms in that county. About the same time the said captain Peasely, going through Cloncutty, Philip Ryan, a peaceable gentleman and owner of the said town came out of his house to salute the captain, who pulled out his pistol and shot the harmless gentleman dead at his own door. These murders occasioned the rising of the gentry and inhabitants of that county."

" County of Cork.

16. " In Condon's country (1641), above 300 labourers, women, and children, were murdered by some of the now earl of Orrery's soldiers. Fifty-six persons or thereabouts were subsequently brought prisoners to Castle Lyons and put into a stable; there their beards were burned, as well as the hair of their heads, which so disfigured them that their nearest friends could not know them next day when they were hanging.

" In 1642, in the same county, 355 persons were murdered with clubs and stones, being in protection. Mr. Henly, an English gentleman, dwelling in Roche's county, but a Roman Catholic, had his wife and children barbarously stripped, and most of his tenants inhumanly murdered by adjacent English garrisons, and such cruelty was used that they stabbed young infants and left them so half dead on their mothers' dead carcases.

In this said Henlystown, and the adjacent villages, at that time there were murdered about 900 labourers, women, and children.

“ In 1643, Cloghleggh being garrisoned by the Irish, and surrendered upon quarter of life to sir Charles Vavasour, they were all inhumanly murdered, and the hearts of some of them pulled out and put into their mouths; and many other massacres were committed the same time there upon women and children. At Lisle, twenty-four men in protection were murdered by colonel Mynn's soldiers. At Bellanere eight poor labourers were killed by captain Bridge's men whilst in protection, and engaged in saving the harvest of the English.

“ In 1642, at Clogheilty, about 238 persons were murdered, of which number seventeen children were taken by the legs by soldiers, who knocked out their brains against the walls. This was done by Forbes's men and the garrison of Bandon Bridge. At Garanne, near Ross, Connor Kennedy, who had protection for himself and his tenants to save their harvest, were murdered by the garrison of Ross as they were reaping their corn.

“ In 1641, the garrison of Bandon Bridge tied eighty-eight Irishmen of that town back to back, and threw them off the bridge into the river, where they were all drowned. Patrick Hackett, master of a ship in Waterford, when the duchess of Ormond was desirous to be conveyed to Dublin, left her safe, with her family and goods there, and received from the lords Justices and Ormond a pass for his safe return; but being driven by a storm into Dungarvan, he and his men were hanged by direction of the commander-in-chief there, notwithstanding that he produced the said pass.

“ The English party of this county burned O'Sullivan Beare's house in Bantry, and all the rest of that county, killing man, woman, and child, and turning many into their homes, then on fire, to be burned therein, and among others, Thomas de Bucke, a cooper, about

eighty years' old, and his wife, who was almost as aged."

"County of Waterford.

17. "1641. In Decie's country, the neighbouring English garrison of the county Cork, after burning and pillaging all that county, murdered above three thousand persons, men, women, and children, and led one hundred labourers prisoners to Caperquine (Cappoquin) where, being tied by couples, they were cast into the river and made sport of to see them drowned. 'This was before any rebellion began in Munster.'

"County of Clare.

18. "In 1644, forty families in protection were murdered by the garrison of Inchicronan; and in 1646, several residing near Bunratty were murdered by the soldiers of that place, who were under command of lieutenant Adams."

"County of Galway.

19. "In 1642, sergeant Redmund Burke and two more were hanged by the then governor of the fort of Galway. A party of the garrison, too, murdered six people in Rinveel, among whom one Geoffry Fitz-Thibot, aged about seventy years, and in a burning fever.

"1652 and 1653. It was a usual practice with colonel Stubbers, then governor of Galway, and others commanding in said county, to take the people out of their beds at night and sell them for slaves to the Indies; and by computation he sold out of said county above 1,000 souls."

"County of Leitrim.

20. "1641. It was commonly known to all sides how cruel the governor of Mannor Hamilton (sir Frederick Hamilton, was in that county, and how he usually invited gentlemen to dine with him, and hanged them

after dinner, and caused their thighs to be broken with hatchets before execution."

"County of Sligo.

21. "There is none at this time who can give an exact account of the murders committed in this county, with the exception of one remarkable instance in Creane's Castle, in the town of Sligo. The Irish had a party numbering about 200 men, commanded by major Richard Burke, and after obtaining quarter to march away, they were all murdered in cold blood."

CHAPTER V.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

1. HOPES OF THE CATHOLICS THAT CHARLES II., AT THE RESTORATION, WOULD REMEMBER THEIR MERITS TO HIS FATHER.—2. THESE HOPES DISAPPOINTED.—3. SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS BY ACT OF SETTLEMENT, IN 1660.—4. LORD CLARE'S DESCRIPTION OF ITS INJUSTICE.—5. CLAIMS FOR PROPERTY EXAMINED IN LONDON WHERE BRIBERY PREVAILED.—6. BLACK ACT.—7. COMPENSATION TO PROTESTANT MERCHANTS WHO HAD LENT MONEY TO CARRY ON WAR AGAINST THE KING.—8. TO CROMWELL'S SOLDIERS.—9. TO HIS OFFICERS.—10. PERFDY OF THE MEN THUS REWARDED.—11. NEW PERSECUTIONS.—12. DR. BLUNKET; DR. O'REILLY.—13. REMARK OF M'GEOGHEGAN.

1. In the month of May, 1660, Charles the Second ascended the throne of his ancestors. This restoration of the legitimate sovereign, it

was hoped, would terminate the misfortunes of Ireland. The whole nation had shared his father's sufferings, and had combated to the last for the royal cause. Even when exiled to France they signalized themselves by their loyalty; and when, through political combinations, the English monarch was compelled to seek an asylum in the Low Countries, thither he was followed by the Irish regiments, though all his other subjects abandoned him. This fidelity won for them the admiration and esteem of the continental nations, and the prince himself after his restoration publicly acknowledged their loyalty and services, and declared that they were on that account deserving of his special "*protection, favour, and justice.*"*

2. The hopes, however, that were awakened by these promises were soon blighted, and the sunshine of royal justice never cheered the desolate homes of the Irish. Dr. John Lynch, in 1662, dedicating his *Cambrensis Eversus* to Charles II., exclaims: "Alas! the words of the poet 'sorrow is mingled with joy,' are not mere poetry; for while your other kingdoms are delirious with joy, Ireland alone grieves and mourns, groaning deeply, and ever reiterating her plaint, 'Lo, in this peace is my bitterness most bitter:'"

* See the address of Charles II. to both Houses of Parliament on 27th July, 1660, and again on 30th November, the same year.

others enjoy security, but we are still oppressed with a load of calamities brought on by that peace. For, laws and civil contentions more savage than the sword grind us to the dust; and after narrowly escaping the sword of our enemies, we are now the victims of their enactments.”*

3. On the first announcement of the restoration of the king, the Cromwellian settlers were filled with alarm, and agents were at once despatched by them to the monarch to represent the Irish Catholics as rebels, ill affected to the cause of order and royalty. Whilst the royal ears were dinned with these representations, “the severest ordinances lately made against the Irish Roman Catholics, were strictly executed. They were not allowed to pass from one province to another on their ordinary business; many of them were imprisoned; their letters were intercepted; their gentry were forbidden to meet, and thus deprived of the opportunity of choosing agents or representing their grievances. No sooner had the king arrived in London than he was obliged to publish a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels, and commanding that adventurers, soldiers, and others who were possessed of their manors, houses, or lands, should not be disturbed in their possessions until legally evicted,

* Camb, Evers. Epist. dedicat., page 6.

or his majesty by advice of parliament should take further order therein."*

It was on the 30th of November, 1660, that the famous Act of Settlement was published at Whitehall. It professed to have for its object the execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of Ireland, and for the satisfaction, at the same time of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and others, his subjects there; and after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progress of it, and the final reduction of the rebels by the king's English and Protestant subjects, by one general sweeping clause, vests in the king, his heirs, and successors, all estates real and personal, of every kind whatsoever in the kingdom of Ireland, which at any time from the 21st of October, 1641, had in any way been seized by the crown, or allotted "to any person or persons for adventures, arrears, reprisals, or otherwise; or whereof any soldier, adventurer, or other person was in possession for, or on account of the rebellion."

4. Lord Clare in his famous speech in parliament on the Union, after quoting these words of the Act, continues:—

"Having thus in the first instance vested three-fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island in the king, commissioners were appointed with full and exclusive authority to hear

* Leland, Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii., page 410.

and determine all claims upon the general fund whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent papists, as they are called—in other words of the old inhabitants of the island who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for having taken a part in the rebellion against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles the Second. But, with respect to this class of sufferers—who might naturally have expected a preference of claim—a clause is introduced by which they are postponed after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisal shall be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers who had obtained possession of *their* inheritance. I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this Act thus passed for the settlement of Ireland; but I wish gentlemen, who call themselves the independent Irish nation, to know, that seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out, under the authority of this Act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island. Many of the latter class who were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance as well from the difficulties imposed on them by the court of claims in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisal to English adventurers."

5. Such was the royal "*protection, justice, and favour,*" shown to the Catholics of Ireland.*

* Dr. Lynch in "*Cambreusis Eversus*," vol. iii, page 135, writes in 1662:—"The Irish, though guilty of no crime against the crown, were, nevertheless, on the solicitation of the English Parliament, branded by him as rebels, and condemned to an unprecedented forfeiture of their property."

The examination of all claims was, indeed, summoned before the government in London, and deputations were sent thither from both sides. The Protestants, however, took the precaution to send £30,000 with their deputies for immediate distribution, whilst other sums were sent directly to the chief members of the court: of course, the decisions were, almost without exception, in favour of the Puritans. The English judges had many of them a special interest in the confiscation of the Irish lands, besides the prejudices they had conceived against the old Irish themselves. "The Irish," writes Leland, "had neither money nor friends. The English nation regarded them with horror. The Council before whom they were to appear knew little of the conduct of individuals who deserved favour, and were ready to involve them all in the general guilt of massacre and rebellion."*

6. Despite all these difficulties something had been gained by individual Catholics, whereupon a cry of "No Popery" was vehemently raised throughout the country. Alarmed by this outcry, and still more by a Protestant conspiracy set on foot by some members of the government itself, an act was passed for ever barring all further investigation into forfeited estates. This act the Roman Catholics called *the Black Act*, whilst it was styled by the Cromwellian settlers,

* "Hist. of Irel.," vol. iii., page 424.

the Magna Charta of Irish Protestants. Thus was the sanction of the legislature and the monarch's approbation given to the confiscation of Ireland and to the ruin of the Irish families.

7. Those to whom the possession of all that was worth cultivating in Ireland was thus secured, were divided into three classes. The first class comprised the adventurers who had been merchants and citizens of London, and in the eighteenth year of Charles I. had advanced considerable sums for the reduction of Ireland. This money, however, was applied by the rebellious parliament to the raising of an army against the King, and this application of the money was subsequently approved of by the adventurers themselves, assembled at Grocers' Hall in London. This was no secret, and it was plain to the world that these adventurers had no title to the lands from which the Catholics had been driven; and yet, notwithstanding their crimes and the invalidity of their titles, they were upheld in their unjust possessions; and all the adventurers who at any time advanced money to forward the Cromwellian cause were made secure in the lands that belonged to the Irish Catholics.

8. Cromwell's soldiers formed the second class. They were the avowed enemies of the King, and had been the cruel ministers of Cromwell's fury: twelve counties were, in 1652, distributed amongst them, and now, as a reward for the murder of Charles I., and for all their butcheries

in Ireland, this donation of Irish lands was solemnly confirmed to them.

9. The third class consisted of the officers who had served the King before June 5th, 1649, and whose arrears remained unpaid. To forty-nine of these officers were giving all the confiscated lands in four counties bordering on the Shannon, besides houses and certain privileges in every town and city of the kingdom. These officers had been the chief cause of the defeat of the royal forces, and many of them had openly deserted the king's standard to join the usurper. Even those were included in this class who had been mainly instrumental in surrendering the Irish towns and fortresses to Cromwell, and thus was the seal of the monarch's approbation solemnly giving to all their unparalleled iniquitous deeds.*

10. It was thought that by this course the new settlers in Ireland would be conciliated to the royal cause. But injustice can never produce fruits of gratitude or honour. When some years later another usurper raised the standard of revolt,

* The Cromwellian adventurers being secured in their estates, the government sought to create some additional friends by allotting large tracts of the land that belonged to the Catholics, to increase the funds of the Protestant University in Dublin, as also for the erection of free Protestant schools through the country. See "Ireland's Case": also, Macgeoghegan's "History of Ireland," page 583.

these Puritan settlers and their children were the first to draw the sword against their lawful monarch, whilst his only faithful followers were the Irish Catholics, whose rights were so unjustly betrayed, and who, by this confiscation, were deprived of the means of defending, with success, the cause which they still conscientiously espoused.

11. The Puritans knowing well the nature of their claims to the vast properties they had acquired, resolved to perpetuate the deeds of persecution with which they had hitherto pursued the Irish Catholics. "In the present day," writes Dr. Oliver, "we can hardly form an idea of the persecutions and sufferings that the clergy of Ireland had to endure. I have seen a letter of Dr. Anthony Geoghegan, Bishop of Meath, dated 26th of August, 1660, *ex loco nostri refugii in Hibernia*, in which he says: *Vivo in cavernis adhuc, sicut et cæteri mee vocationis et status* (I live still in the caverns of the earth, as do also all other members of the clergy). Truly, this exemplary clergy could say: "For thee, O Lord! we are mortified the whole day long."—(Collections, &c., page 246.)

12. It would be foreign to our present purpose to pursue the history of all the sufferings that our clergy and faithful people were compelled to endure during the reign of Charles II. Many particulars connected with that period may be seen in the 'Memoirs of the Most Rev. Dr.

Plunket.* The predecessor of that glorious martyr, Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, as he shared his dignity so did he share his privations and persecutions. In a letter of 12th July, 1661, he writes to the Holy See that "he was obliged to lie concealed on account of the danger that threatened the clergy on every side; by night he had to discharge those duties which should be discharged by day, and he had to pass the day as though it were the depth of night. The letters, too, of the Catholics were intercepted, not only in London, but even in Dublin and Paris, by the spies of the English government." In another letter, about the same time, the same archbishop states that after making the visitation of some districts an accusation was presented against him, "as though he were an incendiary and engaged in exciting a rebellion; he, therefore, was compelled to take refuge in the caverns, where he still continues."

13. All the persecutions which our Catholic clergy and people were thus compelled to endure may justly be referred to the iniquitous act of settlement which legalized the Cromwellian spoliations, and gave the royal sanction to all the preceding deeds of Puritan barbarity † against

* See ch. xix and xxiii. of the *Memoirs* published by Mr. Duffy in 1861.

† *Priest hunting* continued during the first years of Charles' reign to be a favourite pursuit of the Puritans;

the Irish people. We shall conclude our remarks on the iniquitous act, with the words of Macgeoghegan :—

“ It is incredible to think how the king was influenced to act contrary, not only to justice, but even to the interests of his house. Princes have been often known, from motives of policy, to pardon rebellious subjects, after returning to their duty and submission, but to heap upon them the rich patrimonies of faithful subjects by which the latter are reduced to the extreme of indigence, is unexampled in history.”—(Hist. of Ireland, page 583.)

they even imported *blood hounds* from America and trained them to track to the mountain caverns that sacred prey ; it is hence that at that *word* the heart of the Irish peasant yet thrills with horror.

APPENDIX I.

Letter regarding Monsignore Rinuccini's Mission to Ireland in 1645, and the condition of Ireland at that time.

We insert here a letter written by one of the Nuncio Rinuccini's *suite* soon after their arrival in Ireland. It gives many interesting details regarding the customs of the Irish in those country districts, which were so soon to be laid waste by Puritan barbarity. From the whole narrative, it appears that there was abundance in the country at that time, and none of that squalid poverty and misery which are now so common, though we are told that the country is in a state of great prosperity.

The original letter is in Italian, and was addressed to the brother of the Nuncio in Florence. The only ancient copy extant is preserved in the archives of the Irish College, Rome. In 1845, this letter was communicated by the then Rector, Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, to the Editors of the *Dublin Review*, who published part of it in the

March number, page 219, seq.* Some passages were reprinted in the appendix of "History of the Confederation of Kilkenny," by the Rev. C. P. Meehan :—

"As soon as by order of the Nuncio, I had purchased at Nantes the frigate, *S. Pietro*, his Excellency with some necessary attendants proceeded to Rochelle, where he was awaited by the secretary of the Irish confederation, who had given my Lord Nuncio to understand that he had engaged a fleet of eight good vessels to accompany him into Ireland. I remained at Nantes in the meantime, to prepare some provisions and ammunition which, notwithstanding all the exertions of the different ministers, could not be in readiness for ten days. I then hastened with the frigate and the remainder of the attendants to Rochelle, and throughout I experienced the happy effects of God's protecting providence; owing, perhaps, to the intercession of so many devout persons who, as you more than once assured me, are engaged in offering up prayers for us. We not only escaped when a parliamentary vessel attempted to surprize our frigate as it lay with only a few guards in the port of Painboeuf, but we were also freed from the risk we were exposed to by the same parliamentary vessel in the port of Sanazan; it watched all our movements there, and on our raising the anchor and spreading our sails, it acted in like manner and pursued us for a distance of forty miles, expecting that we would be met by two

* The writer of the article in the *Dublin Review* is inclined to believe that the author of the letter was F. Joseph Arcamoni, the Nuncio's confessor. From a passage of the letter itself to which we will call attention in a note, we think it is sufficiently evident that its author was the Dean of Ferns, the companion and intimate friend of the Nuncio.

other parliamentary vessels which were expressly cruising for that purpose in those waters, and that thus it would by following us be able to secure our capture.

"But God so arranged it, that on the preceding day these two parliamentary vessels were drawn off in pursuit of an Irish frigate which, however, escaped between St. Malo and Nantes, and thus we enjoyed an uninterrupted journey. We lost, however, a very favourable prize which presented itself in front of the port of Olon; a corsair Biscayan vessel made preparations there to attack us, sailing towards us with full speed, but when we were just ready to board her, she changed her course and fled from us. We could have easily overtaken her, but our captain very prudently deemed it better not to enter on the pursuit, as we had another enemy ever following on our track. During the whole night we sailed along, keeping constant guard, but on the following day we found ourselves not only freed from the hostile vessels, but also close to the island of St. Martin, whence, with a favourable wind, after a few hours sail we safely anchored in Rochelle. I at once went in the small boat to land, to salute the Nuncio who, at the Jesuits' college, in great anxiety awaited my arrival, for he had heard that we would run greater risks between Nantes and Rochelle than between France and Ireland, and seeing me he raised his hands to heaven giving thanks to God and the blessed Virgin.

"The eight vessels, of which I spoke above, had been under anchor for four or five days waiting for a favourable wind, and when this at length came (as there was no sign of our frigate), they set sail; another large vessel, which was well armed, and which had promised to await us at all events, started on the very day that we reached Rochelle, and sailed to St. Martin's, and thence towards the Irish coast. We made the best, however, of everything, and the Nuncio, with his usual confidence in the protection of God and in the Apostolic blessing, gave immediate orders to get everything in readiness for

our journey, and on the very next day he went on board the frigate (though he was then afflicted with a most annoying cutaneous disease), and, accompanied by eighty-three persons, between passengers, soldiers, and mariners, we set sail under happy auspices.

“ We sailed with favourable wind during that and the following day; and as we met with no vessel of the enemy, everything went on most prosperously. On the third day, however, at 11 o'clock, we descried eight parliamentary vessels, viz., five ships of war and three frigates, which for four hours pursued us at full speed. But partly through the swiftness of our frigate, and partly because they never imagined that the Nuncio for Ireland could be on board our solitary vessel, they gave up the chase, and allowed us to continue our course unmolested. On the following day, being new moon, the weather changed and a storm arose; so dense was the darkness, that the captain feared lest we should be driven into the hands of our enemies, and hence kept to the broad sea, steering, as best he could, not to stray too far from our course.

“ At day-break our troubles increased, for we descried a man-of-war and a war-frigate, which made all sail towards us, and approached so near that we could clearly perceive that they were commanded by a certain Plunket* who was engaged in the parliamentary service, and was a most bitter persecutor of the Irish. He had the advantage over us, as the wind was too strong for our frigate, and the stormy sea was also favourable to his large vessels; he, therefore, gained ground on us so much that we were obliged to cast overboard boxes,

* Belling, in his *Narrative of the Confederate War*, styles this piratical Plunket *a noted scourge*. The chase described above, is mentioned by Castlehaven and others. From these authorities we learn that a fire broke out in one of Plunket's vessels, which obliged him to give up the chase.

barrels, butts, baskets, and such other articles. The chase commenced between the Scilly Isles and the English channel steering towards Ireland, and lasted for nine hours, in which we ran more than 115 miles; through the blessing of Providence the enemy never came within range of our frigate, and when we cut away the fore-mast sail, which made her dip too much, they gave up all hope of overtaking us; and when we feared most that we were on the point of being captured, the piratical persecutor gave up the chase and turned to the right towards Capollen (Cape Clear); our captain, to whom we are much indebted, displayed surprising courage on that day, animating the soldiers and passengers, and giving the opportune orders to the mariners, who all acted in a masterly manner.

“ We sailed, as I have said, about 115 miles from Capollen toward the western coast of Ireland, but so far in the open sea that it afterwards occasioned us new trouble, as I will mention just now. It was surprising that during all this peril neither the Nuncio nor the greater part of his companions experienced any alarm. Whilst his Excellency with the greatest tranquillity, encouraged all around him, we, without confusion or disorder, got our arms in readiness, and having endeavoured to make an act of contrition for our sins, we prepared to defend ourselves to the last drop of our blood. My lord Nuncio was always full of confidence that Providence would deliver us from danger, and foretold our escape. It was only when we found ourselves out of peril that our hair stood on an end, and that we fully comprehended the great risk we had run. All, therefore most humbly returned thanks to God, to the blessed Virgin, and to St. Anthony of Padua, whose festival was on that day celebrated: the Irish were the more fervent in their thanksgiving as they had been the more alarmed during the pursuit, knowing well the certain death that awaited them from their most cruel enemy. They, therefore, raised their hands to heaven

and embraced one another, shedding tears of tenderness.

“ On the following day as the bad weather continued, as well as a high sea, we suffered some annoyance; for, owing to the tract of sea we had run when pursued by the enemy, and also to our having strayed about during the night, we had to labour a good deal to make out where we were, and the pilots not agreeing among themselves we had in the wide expanse of ocean to sail about in search of the kingdom of Ireland, till at length St. Ursula, whose feast it was, consoled us by bringing us in sight of the wished for Erin.

“ Three hours after mid-day we found ourselves on the western coast of the island opposite the port of Kenmare, at the mouth of the river Maire, but as night was coming on the captain did not wish to enter in, on account of some rocks which were in the harbour, and casting anchor he waited there till the dawn of morning. As a strong land-wind, however, sprung up on the following day it was not without difficulty that we could enter the port, and as my lord Nuncio was most anxious to land, it was necessary to lower him into the small boat, and he was conducted to some huts of shepherds or fishermen; and, there, his usual bed being prepared for him, he, through the blessing of God, rested very well during the night, which he had not been able to do during the six preceding days of our voyage. On the following day I went from the frigate to salute him and having found him in a poor hut, I could not refrain from remarking that as the Irish had looked forward for his arrival with as much anxiety as the Jews for the promised Messiah, it was only meet that in imitation of his divine Master, his first abode should be in the huts of shepherds. I there assisted the Monsignor at Mass, which he celebrated for the consolation of an immense concourse of people assembled from the surrounding mountainous districts; subsequently I returned to the frigate with some of the attendants of his Excel-

lency : and on the following day he continued his journey by land towards Ardtully, whilst I sailed along the coast in the same direction.

“ The courtesy of the poor people amongst whom my lord the Nuncio took up his quarters was indescribable. A fat bullock, two sheep and a porker were instantly slaughtered, and an abundant supply of beer, butter, and milk was brought to him ; we who were still on board also experienced the kindness of the poor fishermen who sent us presents of excellent fish and oysters of most exquisite flavour, and nothing was wanting that could possibly be desired. Whilst I went creeping along in the frigate in the track of the Nuncio, I observed a harbour about half a mile in length and a pistol shot in breadth, so very beautiful that curiosity led me to take the boat and go on shore, for the purpose of examining the wonders of the place. In a short time I was surrounded by an immense multitude of men, women, and boys who had come running down from different places in the mountains to see me ; and some of them happening to observe the crucifix which I wore on my breast, they all made a circle round me and kissed it one after another. After this they made signs of the greatest affection and friendship to me, and conducted me almost perforce to one of the nearest huts, where I was seated on a cushion stuffed with feathers ; and the mistress of the house, a venerable old dame, sat down beside me along with her daughters, and offered to kiss me according to the usage of the country ; and had I not explained by signs that this would not be becoming in one who bore Christ crucified on his breast, and who, being a priest, accompanied the Nuncio-Apostolic, I am sure they would have been offended. A large quantity of most delicious milk was then brought to me in a wooden vessel by the mistress of the house herself, and she manifested the utmost anxiety that I should drink it. As it was of a most excellent flavour I drank copiously of it, and was quite revived by the draught.

They all endeavoured to stand as close to me as possible, and those who were able to touch me considered themselves happy, so that it was with difficulty I could disengage myself from them in order to return to the frigate; they even determined to escort me to the very water's edge, and some of the young men wished to accompany me altogether. How wonderful it is, that in these wild and mountainous places, and among a poor people who are reduced to absolute misery by the devastations of the heretical enemy, I should find, nevertheless, the noble influence of our holy Catholic faith; for, there was not one man, woman, or child, however small, who could not repeat the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the commandments of holy Church.

"My lord Nuncio continuing his journey by land was met by many personages and gentlemen, as well as by numerous detachments of troops; for, the Secretary of the Council who travelled with his Excellency, had despatched messengers to various parts announcing his arrival. The first night he stopped at the strong castle of Ardtully, and was entertained in a splendid manner by the proprietor of the district. The Nuncio remained there for two days, and then, passing over some very high mountains, he journeyed on towards Macroom, which belongs to Lord Muskerry, one of the chief nobility of the kingdom, being carried in a litter made, as best we could direct, of planks and cords. On his arrival at that place he was received with all honours by the son of that nobleman, who came out three miles to meet him, accompanied by fifty armed horsemen; nearer the castle a detachment of infantry was drawn up; and farther on was a procession of all the clergy, secular and regular, who, preceded by the cross, came to receive the Nuncio; for the last mile he mounted on horseback, and on his arrival was immediately conducted to the church. An immense throng had assembled there, and all fell on their knees to receive his blessing, whilst they

at the same time manifested their delight and contentment. From the church his Excellency went to the palace, at the entrance of which he was received by the lady Viscountess, in the absence of her husband, who was away at the camp, or perhaps negotiating the peace in Dublin; she prostrated herself with her children and domestics and kissed the robe of his Excellency, asking his blessing which she received with a most marked devotion.

"From Macroon, after four days, we proceeded to Turasengal,* from Turasengal to Colmingh (*Clonmeen*); thence to Kilmallock; and from Kilmallock to Limerick, which is one of the chief cities of the kingdom, situated on the banks of a large river, which is navigable from the western coasts of the kingdom. Everywhere the Nuncio was received with the same demonstrations of affection and courtesy, but in Limerick the Irish resolved to make a grand display of their affection, and I was assured that they could not possibly do more for any prince. Besides detachments of cavalry and infantry, all the gentry of the province came to greet him, and the roads were thronged with immense masses of people who, falling on their knees, with open arms welcomed the arrival of his Excellency and implored the Apostolic benediction. The magistrates with the mayor (who governs the city) were assembled at the city gate, where, having received and complimented him, they made way for the clergy who in procession received him under a canopy, and thus conducted him to the cathedral where he imparted the apostolic blessing.

"The bishop of this city being eighty-two years old could not come farther than about half way between the cathedral and the city gate; he was carried in an arm chair; prostrating himself before the Nuncio, he could

* This was probably *Dromsceane*, a strong castle on the banks of the Blackwater, about fourteen miles from Macroon, and belonging to the O'Keefe family.

not be prevailed on to rise until he received the apostolic blessing; nay, more, notwithstanding all his years, he had himself carried back by a shorter route to the cathedral, and there presenting the cross to the Nuncio, wished also to offer him the mitre and crozier, saying: *Ab Ecclesia Apostolica hæc recepi, nunc eidem ecclesiæ prompte restituo.* After the usual ceremonies prescribed in the Ritual, his Excellency, as I have said, gave his benediction to the immense multitude that was assembled, whilst I, being authorized by him, announced from the pulpit the indulgence of forty days. The mayor and magistrates and nobility then accompanied him to the house which was prepared as a residence for himself and his attendants.

“It is certainly impossible to describe the manifestations of reverence, affection and courtesy of all the inhabitants, and their boundless devotion towards the holy Apostolic See; and I solemnly assure you that I often could not restrain my tears in seeing them fall on their knees in the midst of the mire, to kiss, or at least touch the garments of the Nuncio; and when they touched them, they kissed their hands, as if they had touched relics; and when they received the blessing of his Excellency, they returned home with hands upraised to heaven, thus giving us to understand how great was the consolation they experienced.

“For a good part of the road, my lord Nuncio was accompanied by a large body of cavalry and infantry to protect him from any attack that the Parliamentary heretical enemy might attempt; for, they still occupy some strong fortresses* not far from the places through which we passed; but the all-powerful hand of God was our chief protection, and the heretics never dared to come out from their quarters, fearing that their retreat would be cut off, as indeed would probably have happened.

* These were the head-quarters of Iuchiquin.

"Oh! now indeed, my most illustrious dear sir, your most humble Dean,* being at length in Ireland, is joyful and content, especially as my most illustrious master, your brother, escaped so safely and so well from so many dangers. I received as a happy augury what you wrote to me when I was in Paris, and whilst you supposed me to be in Ireland, for which I now render you my most humble thanks, the more so as I know that these auspices were accompanied with your prayers. In a word, we are in Ireland, we are in Ireland! may God be praised!

"The country part through which we passed, though situated in a mountainous district, is agreeable; and being entirely pasture land, is most abundantly stocked with cattle of every kind. Occasionally one meets a long tract of valley, interspersed with groves and woods, which, as they are neither high nor densely planted, partake more of the agreeable than of the gloomy. For seventy miles the country which we met was almost entirely of this character; but having once crossed the mountains, we entered upon an immense plain, occasionally diversified with hills and valleys, highly cultivated and enriched with an infinite number of cattle, especially oxen and sheep; from the latter of which is obtained the very finest of what is known amongst us as *English wool*.

"The men are fine-looking, and of incredible strength; they are stout runners, and bear every sort of hardship with indescribable cheerfulness. They are all devoted to arms, and especially now that they are at war. Those who apply themselves to the study of literature are most

* This passage sufficiently proves that the writer of the letter was the Dean of Fermo. There are some mistakes in the printed Italian text, as Sig. Nunzio for *Sig. mio*; and again, Sigre. for *Padrone*.

learned, and such persons are to be found of every profession and in every branch of science.

"The women are remarkably tall and comely, and display a charming union of gracefulness with modesty and devotion. Their manners are marked by extreme simplicity, and they freely mix in conversation everywhere without suspicion or jealousy. Their costume is different from ours, and somewhat resembles the French; they moreover wear a long cloak and profuse locks of hair, and go without any head-dress, contenting themselves with a kind of handkerchief, almost after the Greek fashion, which displays their natural beauty to great advantage. The families are very large; there are some that have as many as thirty children all living, and the number of those who have from fifteen to twenty children is immense; and all these children are handsome, tall, and robust, the majority being light haired, and of clear white and red complexion.

"They give most superb entertainments both of flesh and fish, for they have both in the greatest abundance. They are perpetually pledging healths, the usual drink being Spanish wines, French claret, most delicious beer, and most excellent milk. Butter is used on all occasions, and there is no food with which a large quantity of it is not taken. Already we have all accommodated ourselves to the usages of the country (but we give up the language altogether on account of its great difficulty).^{*} There is also plenty of fruit, as apples, pears, plums, artichokes, and all eatables are cheap. A fat ox costs sixteen shillings, a sheep fifteen pence, a pair of

* The line in brackets is partially effaced. The writer has, with sufficient certainty, traced the words *Per la lingua lasciomola* which are omitted in the printed text. Some of the words which follow are completely obliterated, the paper itself being corroded away. We merely supply a conjectural sentence.

capons or fowls, five pence ; eggs a farthing a piece, and so on for the rest in proportion. You can have a large fish for a penny ; and game is so abundant, that they make no account of it at all. Birds may almost be killed with sticks, and especially thrushes, blackbirds, and chaffinches. Both the salt and fresh water fish are most exquisite, and so abundant that, for fifteen pence, we bought one hundred and fifty pounds of excellent fish, such as pike, salmon, herring, trout, &c., all of exceeding good quality. We got a thousand pilchards and oysters for twenty-five baiocchi (twelve and a-half pence).

“ The horses are very plenty, stout, well-built, swift, and cheap ; so that for £5 you might buy a nag which, in Italy, could not be had for a hundred gold pieces.

“ I conclude by repeating that, thanks to God, we are all safe and sound in Ireland, and were it not for the cutaneous disease from which my lord Nuncio suffers, we would be the happiest people in the whole world. You must, therefore, pray to God for the recovery of his Excellency ; for, during the past five months, he has continually suffered from it ; and now I most reverently kiss your Excellency’s hands,” &c.

From Limerick, the 10th November, 1645
(new style). (The copyist adds*) :—

“ Die tertia mensis Februarii, 1646,
Fr. Ascanius Malasana scribebat.”

* The printed copy presents this subscription of the copyist in a most erroneous manner. It is most legibly written as given above.

APPENDIX II.

Letter of Cromwell to Cardinal Mazarini.—Account of Oath of Abjuration from the Nuncio Rinuccini's Papers.—Act of Settlement from Lingard.

In the third volume of Clarendon's "State Papers," published at Oxford, in 1786, we find a letter of Oliver Cromwell, written in 1657, and addressed to Cardinal Mazarin, who then guided the destinies of France. The Cardinal had written to the Protector, soliciting a relaxation of the persecution to which the Catholics were subjected in England and Ireland. The reply of Cromwell is a characteristic one; and shows how convinced he was of the dreadful severity with which the Puritans had raged against our Irish Catholics;—

"I cannot," he says, "answer to your call for toleration, as to a public declaration of my sense in that point, although I believe under my government your eminency in behalf of Catholics hath less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences, than

under the parliament; for, I have of some (and those very many), had compassion, making a difference—truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness with me to the truth I affirm), made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, *plucked many out of the fire, the raging fire of persecution which did tyrannize over their consciences, and encroach, by an arbitrariness of power, over their estates.*”*

As an illustration of this statement, we give some extracts from the act of parliament which imposed the oath of abjuration of which we have spoken above, part 2, ch. 8. This act of parliament is published amongst the papers of the Nuncio Rinuccini. (Florence, 1844):—

“It is manifest that the number of Popish recusants has of late greatly increased in this republic owing to the negligence with which the laws are carried into execution against them, and that infinite dangers arise hence to disturb the public peace. . . . Wherefore, to check these evils, it is commanded by the authority of parliament—

1. “That the grand juries will make a diligent enquiry after all persons who are suspected of popery, and have attained the age of sixteen years; and all persons so accused will be obliged to present themselves at the next assizes, or at the quarter sessions, to there make, and subscribe to, the oath of abjuration as follows:—

2. “‘I, A. B. abjure and renounce the primacy of the Pope, and all his pretended authority over the Catholic Church in general, and over myself in particular; and I do believe that the Roman Church is not the true Church; and that no Transubstantiation is made in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, or in the elements of

* “State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon,” vol. 3, page 319.

bread and wine after their consecration by any person whatsoever. I believe, moreover, that there is no such thing as purgatory; and that neither the consecrated host, nor the crucifix, nor images, should be adored, or receive any religious worship,* So help me God.'

3. "It is commanded that all the justices of peace will send four times every year to each parish clerk to have a list of all persons suspected of being popish recusants, who have attained their sixteenth year, and are consequently obliged to take the oath of abjuration. And that on the presentation of this list, each justiciary shall send his order to the bailiffs to summon those whose names are thus presented, to appear personally before the judges at the next sessions. And if such persons do not appear at the next sessions to subscribe the oath, it shall be proclaimed in public sessions that such persons do appear at the following sessions. And if they do not then appear to take and subscribe to the oath of abjuration, they will be judged to be popish recusants, and subjected to all the penalties that may be incurred as such.

4. "That on the suspicion which any justice of the peace may have, he may summon the person whom he so suspects to appear at the next sessions and subscribe to the oath of abjuration, under penalty of £100. And should such person refuse to submit to the pecuniary fine thus imposed on him, he may be placed in custody until the time of sessions; and should he then refuse to take and subscribe to the said oath, he shall be judged to be a popish recusant as above.

* The usual formulas about the authority of the Pope over princes, &c., are then added; they are omitted above as being substantially the same with those in the oath of James I. and Charles II., which are well known to all Catholic readers.

5. "The Lord Protector is empowered to seize by order of the Court of Exchequer, and take possession of, for the necessities of the republic, two-thirds of all the goods, and chattels, and property whatsoever, belonging to persons so convicted each time that they thus refuse to subscribe to the said oath.

6. "That before the expiration of the next term following on such conviction, it shall be notified to the Court of Exchequer to the effect, that the said court may give its order for the seizure of the two-thirds.

7. "Should a person convicted as above, present himself before either the judges of assize, or the barons of Exchequer, to take and subscribe to the oath of abjuration, he shall be exempted from all future penalties: but should such person die and leave an heir of sixteen years' of age, said heir will be immediately cited to appear in judgment, and be proceeded with as above.

8. "Should the said heir not have attained his sixteenth year, his guardians will receive all his property, provided they be such persons as the barons of the Exchequer approve of, for such guardianship, and that they make a return each year of the profits, and surplus they receive, and that they pay such sums to the said heir on his attaining his sixteenth year, should he take and subscribe to the oath of abjuration, and otherwise to the exchequer, which will take care, moreover, to seize on two-thirds of all his remaining property.

9. "The same order is to hold good in regard of all money or property bequeathed by said persons to their wives or children, or any other person whatsoever.

10. "Should a person, of whatsoever condition he may be, contract marriage with one whom he knows to be a popish recusant, said person will himself be held as such, and subjected to all the penalties as above, till such time as he shall take and subscribe to the oath of abjuration.

11. "That no tribunal whatsoever can recall to itself this charge directed against the popish recusants, or in-

roduce any alteration for any motive whatsoever; but all shall remain in full vigour until such persons will have taken the prescribed oath.

12. "That should any person receive any real or personal property from a popish recusant, to retain it for him by secret compact, and should he neglect to make it known within three months from its being delivered to him, he shall be fined one-third of his own goods or property, of which one half will be given to the Lord Protector, and the remaining half to him who gave the information on the matter.

13. "Each justice of the peace, who shall neglect his duty in fully carrying out this order, will be fined £20; each parish clerk will be fined for a like neglect £10; each registrar of assizes, for each person that he omits in the registry, £20; and of all these fines, one half will be distributed to the poor of the parish, the other half to the accuser.

14. "Should the property of any popish recusant pass into the possession of one known to be a Protestant, such Protestant will present an attestation to that effect at the quarter sessions, to be signed by a majority of the judges, to the effect that such a person of such a condition and sex is truly what he professes to be, and he may then hold such property with exemption from all taxes.

15. "That no person once condemned as above, be admitted to take the oath without producing two unexceptionable witnesses to swear that within six months he had been often present on Sunday in some approved Christian assembly, and that he heard the word of God as it was preached there.

16. "That should any one, after taking the said oath, relapse, he shall be again subjected to all the preceding penalties, till such time as he again subscribes to the oath.

17. "That no subject of this republic, with the exception of the servants of an ambassador or minister, be

allowed to hear Mass at any hour whatsoever, either in their houses or in any other place, under penalty of £100 fine and six months imprisonment, half of which fine will be given to the Lord Protector, and the other half to the informer.*

In 1652 was published the Act of Parliament for the settlement of Ireland. It is given in full by Lingard, vol. 17, note *B*. A few extracts will suffice for our purpose:—

“Whereas the parliament of England, after expense of much blood and treasure for suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, have, by the good hand of God upon their undertakings, brought that affair to such an issue as that a total reducement and settlement of that nation may, with God’s blessing, be speedily effected. . . . Be it enacted and declared, &c.:—

1. “That all and every person and persons who at any time before the 10th day of November, 1642, being the time of the sitting of the first general assembly at Kilkenny, in Ireland, have contrived, advised, counselled, or promoted the rebellion, &c., in Ireland, which begun in the year 1641, or have at any time before the said 10th of November, 1642, by bearing arms, or contributing men, arms, horses, plate, money, victuals, or other furniture or habiliments of war (other than such which they shall make to appear to have been taken from them by mere force and violence), aided, assisted, promoted, prosecuted, or abetted the said rebellion, &c., be excepted from pardon of life and estate.

2. “That all and every person and persons who at any time before the 1st day of May, 1643, did sit or vote in the said general assembly, or in the first pretended

* “Nunziatura in Irlanda di Mgr. Giov. Bat. Rinucini,” published by Agazzi, page 482-6.

council, commonly called the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics in Ireland, or were employed as secretaries or chief clerks, be exempt from pardon for life or estate.

3. "That all and every Jesuit, priest, and other person or persons who have received orders from the Pope or See of Rome, or any authority from the same, that have any ways contrived, advised, counselled, promoted, continued, countenanced, aided, assisted, or abetted, or, at any time hereafter shall any ways contrive, advise, counsel, promote, continue, countenance, &c., the rebellion or war in Ireland, be excepted from pardon for life and estate, &c."

APPENDIX III.



The Holy See and Ireland.

THE many links that for centuries have united Ireland with the Holy See are familiar to our Irish readers. Even during the persecution of Elizabeth we find our country engaging Rome's special care. Pro-nuncios were despatched to her shores, to guard and defend the interests of the Catholic faith; her children, who rose in arms to assert her rights, received from Rome not only words of encouragement but funds to aid their cause; and when her clergy were persecuted and imprisoned, the Holy Father not only stretched out to them an assisting hand, but by repeated briefs solicited the mediation of foreign princes, that the rigour of the persecution might be relaxed, and the captives be restored to liberty.

During the period of which we treated in the preceding pages, at the very commencement of the struggle of the confederates, the saintly Scarampo was sent to encourage them, and guide them by his councils. Later still, we find the

Nuncio Rinuccini sent on a like mission, besides being the bearer of ample subsidies. At every stage of their momentous proceedings, letters were sent from Rome to the French and Spanish monarchs, as well as to the minor princes of Germany and Italy, exhorting them to lend their aid to the Irish nation; whilst other letters were from time to time, transmitted to the bishops and the confederate leaders, rejoicing with them in their triumph, condoling with them in their afflictions, healing their dissensions, and exhorting them to union and constancy in the cause of justice and religion.

It would be easy to give further instances of the solicitude of the Holy See for its faithful children; and to record the many letters of exhortation and encouragement which were addressed to the citizens of Dublin, and others, during their long struggles and sufferings in the cause of religion and their king; but we reserve them for another occasion, not wishing to extend this note to too great a length.

We shall merely state for the present, that, during the interval of Cromwell's triumph, we find the assistance of the Holy See bountifully given to the banished clergy and people; and immediately after the restoration, letters were again addressed to all Catholic powers, praying them "to commission their respective ambassadors at the English court to defend and protect the interests of the poor Catholics of Ire-

land, and especially of the priests, who were imprisoned for the faith in many parts of that kingdom.*"

Thirty years later, when the sword of persecution was again unsheathed against the Irish Catholics, the Pope was still their unflinching advocate. Remittances were yearly sent from Rome to the court of St. Germain for the relief of the Irish exiles, whilst additional aid was bountifully supplied to the banished and persecuted members of the hierarchy. In the Vatican archives we find it registered that 72,000 francs were then annually supplied by Rome for the support of the Irish secular clergy and laity; and on the 15th of July, 1698, we find an additional remittance of 23,655 livres for the religious who were banished from Ireland. Instructions were, moreover, sent to the Nuncios in the foreign courts to give every protection and aid to the Irish Catholics; and even a jubilee was proclaimed in Italy to solicit the prayers and alms of the faithful of that country for our suffering people. In the month of January, 1699, we meet with a list of 27,632 livres received from the Holy Father, and distributed to various Irish ecclesiastics who had

* "Affiche vogliano incaricare i loro ambasciadori e ministri nella corte d'Inghilterra di difendere e proteggere gl'interessi dei poveri Cattolici d'Irlanda, e particolarmente dei sacerdoti carcerati per la fede in diverse parti del regno."—Acts of Sac. Cong., 22 May, 1662.

lately taken refuge in France and Belgium. In the month of February there is another list of 11,832 livres similarly distributed; and in March, as we learn from a letter of the Nuncio in Paris to Cardinal Spada (dated 9 March, 1699), 58,000 livres were sent by the Pope to St. Germain, and distributed by King James to "the Irish ecclesiastics then sent into exile." There is another list dated from St. Germain, 29 March, 1699, which we give entire. Its details must be peculiarly interesting to our readers—

" To Mr. Magennis, Superior of the College des Lombards	1200
To do. do. to be distributed amongst the Irish Missioners	1200
To Mr. Nolan, Superior of another Irish Com- munity in Paris for the support of the poor students in his community	1009
To Mr. O'Donnell for the Irish nuns in Ipres .	1000
To the almoner of the Queen for the use of the community of poor Irish girls at St. Ger- main	500
To Father Nash, an Irish Franciscan, for some members of his order	41
To various other religious	99
To the confessor of the Queen for a young ecclesiastical student	150
To Mr. Burke, chaplain to the Queen, for an Irish carmelite	60
Set apart for four missionaries coming from Ire- land	600
To a poor Irish officer who has a wife and six children	150

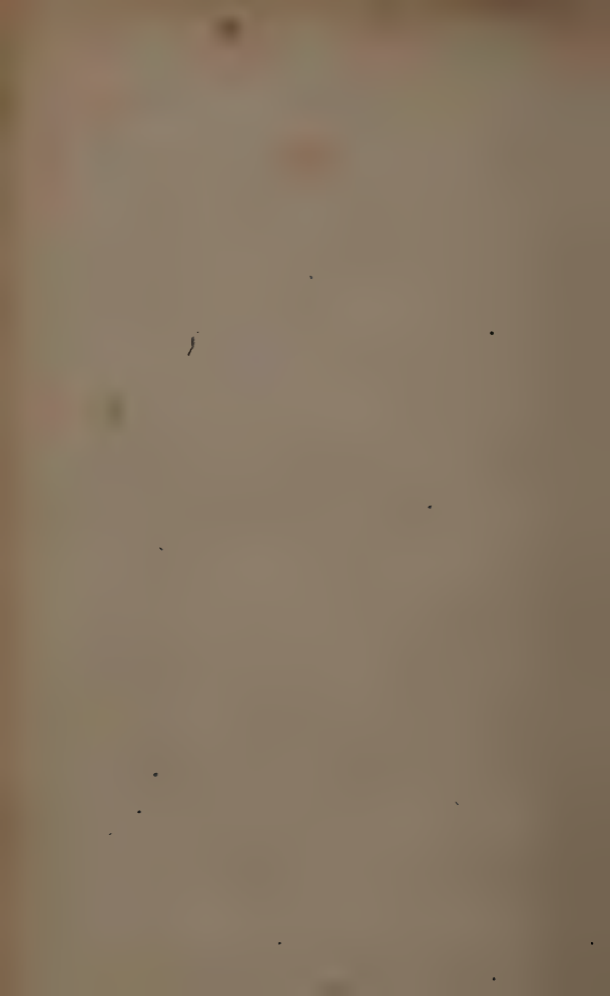
" In all six thousand scudi."

Again, on the 8th of June, 1699, the secretary of the King, writing from St. Germain, acknowledges the receipt, from the Holy Father, "of 37,500 livres to be distributed amongst his subjects persecuted for their faith."

When, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the enemies of Catholicity had recourse to new arts to assail the time-honoured faith of our country, and sought to poison the sources of instruction of our Catholic youth, the Holy See was again ready, not only with its exhortations and councils, but also with its pecuniary aid to support Catholic poor-schools through the country, and from that time to the close of the century, when the Pope was momentarily deprived of his states, and driven into exile, 1,000 Roman crowns were annually transmitted to our bishops for that purpose.

Thus were the Roman pontiffs, at every period, the fathers of our country, the guardians of our persecuted people, the support of our exiled clergy. "The blessings of faith were transmitted to us by the Popes, not only as the successors of St. Peter, but as sovereigns of Rome; and when an opportunity is given Catholic Ireland of making them some return, it would be strange, indeed, if she did not gratefully remember the services rendered in her hour of distress."*

* Rev. D. M'Carthy's "Collections on Irish Church History," vol. 1., page 302.



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AUTHOR

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